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## China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WEALTH, POVERTY IN AMERICA CONTRASTED

Beijing HUANQIU /GLOBE/ in Chinese No 12, 23 Dec 84 pp 2-5

/Article by Li Yanning /2621 1693 1380/: "America--A Country Full of Contradictions"/

/Text/ People do not have to live long in America to discover that it is a country full of sharp contradictions.

Of course it is common knowledge that there is no country in the world without contradictions. However, not all countries have such sharp and complex contradictions as America does, and the contrast in them is not as strong. Compared with America, there is a very big difference in industrially-developed capitalist countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Australia.

Perhaps we may borrow a technical term from photography and television to describe America: it sia c ountry of great "contrast."

A Country of Great "Contrast"

Do you want proof? I don't need to think hard to cite some examples:

--On the one hand it is so rich; on the other hand, it has so many poor people.

--On the one hand, this country's education is so developed, with more than 3,200 institutions of higher learning throughout the United States and more than 12 million college students in school; on the other hand, 26 million Americans are illiterate or semi-illiterate, with 22 percent of the adults being unable to read books and newspapers and 16 percent of the adults being unable to write.

--On the one hand, America's science and technology is so advanced, with Americans being the first to land on the moon and America's space achievements being the focus of world attention; on the other hand, religious superstition is so prevalent in this country that during their race the presidential candidates of the two parties each had to vow solemnly that he was a good Christian, because, otherwise, the danger of his not being elected was highly possible. Several years ago several hundred disciples of America's "People's Temple" committed collective suicide in Guyana, which was a shocking event.

--On the one hand, there is a large number of unemployed persons in America, and they are in a difficult plight; on the other hand, every year as many as a million foreigners try by every means to migrate to America.

--On the one hand, America's medical profession is so advanced; on the other hand, the cost of medical treatment is so expensive, so that many people do not lightly dare to seek out a doctor for treatment, and if a person needs an operation it is better for him to spend the money on the airfare to Europe and go into hospitel there.

--On the one hand, Americans put a lot of stress on keeping fit, and from morning to evening on the streets of Washington one can see men and women, the young and the old, jogging to temper their bodies; on the other hand, so many people become addicted to drugs and do not hesitate to destroy themselves.

--On the one hand, America is a country that is particular about its legal system; on the other hand, there are so many people who are able, after they commit a crime, to escape the law's punishment. For example, the automobile magnate Delorean peddled a large amount of drugs and was "caught with the goods." He was tried in court, but in the end was judged innocent and set free. Similarly, the rich man's son who shot President Reagan was judged innocent. People say that if they can come up with several hundreds of thousands, up to as much as a million, dollars to engage a topfight lawyer to find loopholes in the law by every possible means, this will probably be the result.

--On the one hand, America has accumulated a large amount of wealth. Today Latin America countries alone owe \$300 billion in foreign debts and half of this amount was borrowed from American banks of all sizes. America has become the world's biggest lender. On the other hand, since 1976, for 8 or 9 years in succession, this country has had a foreign trade deficit, and the amount of the deficit is getting bigger and bigger. This year it is estimated that it will reach the record figure of \$125 billion. Therefore, many Americans worry that in not too many years America could turn from being the biggest creditor nation to the biggest debtor nation.

#### "Tale of Two Cities"

Just as Chinese like to talk about their country as having "vast territory, abundant resources, and a large population," Americans have two pet phrases for their country: one is "Land of Plenty"; the other is the "Promised Land."

This country is richly endowed. Not to mention other things, in natural resources and conditions connected with agriculture alone, it is richly endowed by nature. Compared with China, America's territorial area is a little smaller; however, because it does not have many big mountains and deserts, the cultivated area is more than 1.029 billion acres, amounting to more than 6.3 billion Chinese mu, nearly 4 times China's cultivated area, and America's population is only one-fifth of China's (also, anyone who rides in a car on a long-distance journey in America knows that he often sees large stretches of grassland on both sides of the highway, which shows that there is much more land that could be cultivated). On these stretches of land the weather is basically favorable

for crops. Therefore, if on these stretches of land, orchards, vegetable gardens, or paddy fields are planted, or other crops are planted, normally artificial irrigation is not needed. The total area of irrigated land in America is less than five percent of the cultivated land, but all the same bumper harvests are regularly obtained.

Even if agricultural products go through one processing stage after another and many intermediate links before the American consumer puts them on the dining table as food, and the price is raised several times, the American's expenditure on things to eat is, generally speaking, still not high. If the family does its own cooking, a per capita per month expenditure of about \$80 or \$90 at the most, and \$50 or \$60 at the least, is sufficient. Calculated on the basis of the "minimum standard wage" set by U.S. law, one need only work 15 to 27 hours a month to get the money spent on meals.

However, "Behind the shadow of the skycrapers, factories, and the residential zones of the urban suburbs, America, this richly-endowed country, is at the same time a country of shortages." This was the first sentence in the first article in a feature article series that began to be published by the CHICAGO TRIBUNE on 12 August. The general headline of this set of feature articles was "America's Hunger Problem." The article continued:

"On America's fertile plains there are orchards everywhere, and America's supermarkets are filled with food; however, America is still a country in which several million persons are never able to fill their bellies."

"The harvest of America's farmland in 1 year is enough to feed all the people in the country for more than 2 years; however, 1 out of every 5 of its people, a total of more than 47 million of its inhabitants, live at or below the poverty level, among whom many of them face the reality of going hungry or the threat of malnutrition."

"To be sure, America's hunger problem is not as strikingly visible as the scenes shown in the Third World (countries): starving children lying in the streets crying for food. The scene in America in this respect is like a very quiet portrait gallery. Those people who cannot buy enough food to feed their own families do not make a sound; only on their faces are reflected slowly and subtly the scars caused by malnutrition."

From the height of skyscrapers in New York, Los Angeles, or other large American cities, people see below car after car wriggling along the streets, which are as hard to count as ants at the sides of an ant next. In a country with a population of 230 million, there are 105 million cars, and it is not uncommon for rich families to own 2 or 3 cars. However, when you descend from the skyscraper into the streets, it is highly likely that you will encounter a person in rags who will beg for a coin from you. According to U.S. newspaper reports, many persons who have lost their qualifications to draw unemployment benefits for a long time simply can't come up with half a dollar to buy a bus ticket.

In the suburbs surrounding many medium-sized and large cities, where prosperous white middle-class people concentrate, flowers are everywhere and there are

carpets of green grass, truly as beautiful as a painting, and at the sides of the streets it is even hard to find a single cigarette butt or a scrap of waste paper. However, in the slums or black ghettoes in the center of these cities, the buildings are dilapidated, some being without doors or windows, and the streets are full of discarded beer cans or soda pop bottles and piles of rubbish, which no one sweeps up. The Chinese audience is familiar with a scene in the Japanese film "Human Testimony" which shows an old American black dying alone on the floor of an old uninhabitated house, and the rundown buildings that are shown in the film are not exaggerated in the least but are a true portrayal of certain slums in New York City.

In the medium-sized and large cities of the United States, particularly in the new and developing cities of the South, newly built, splendid buildings of several tens of stories high (office buildings and high-class apartment buildings) can be found everywhere. A single room for one night in a high-class hotel costs as much as \$100, and even \$130 to \$140. A vacation country house of a rich man frequently stands on several tens of acres, and is equipped with a high-quality swimming pool, a tennis court, a golf course, a horse ranch, and so forth. During a year, the owner will stay in his country house for no more than 2 or 3 months. Because the owners of many houses are waiting to sell them at good prices, they lock them up and leave them unused for several years rather than rent them out to other people at low prices. Around our residence in Washington there are several houses like this. Homeless vagrants dwell under the gateway arches of these houses. Passing by their sides at night, it is hard to avoid being startled. In the capital of Washington alone, there are several thousands of vagrants of this type. As for the entire United States, according to a report in NEWSWEEK, the estimated number of them varies widely, roughly between 250,000 and 2 million. These persons are not even able to draw relief funds or "food stamps" (a "food stamp" is a kind of certificate given by the U.S. Government as a form of relief to poor people, who can take it to a food store and exchange it for certain low-priced foodstuffs without paying money), because only people with fixed addresses can draw then. This writer remembers in 1981 when he was passing through Washington a heavy snow was falling, and in several sectors I saw this kind of vagrant lying on the sidewalk of a street. Under his body was only a sheet of kraft paper, and on his body there were no quilts or blankets to ward off the cold. No wonder that there was a news report on television that night that said several persons had frozen to death in 1 day. If Du Fu had seen this scene, perhaps he would have changed his famous line to read "Although amid countless broad mansions, the faces of young men who find it difficult to ward off the cold welcome me."

In July of this year, at the Democratic Party Convention in San Francisco, Mario Cuomo, a Democrat and governor of New York State, borrowed the title of Dickens' famous novel "Tale of Two Cities," referring to President Reagan's talk of "a shining city on a mountain top," he said rather that there exist "two cities" in America, one being the rich man's America and the other the poor man's America. This writer has no intention of commenting on whether the Republican or Democratic Party is right or wrong, but of the two figures of speech Cuomo's wording obviously tallies with reality a little more.

#### Equal Opportunity For Everybody?

I do not know when the biblical term "Promised Land" began to be used to praise America. However, America is a country built by immigrants. It is understandable that the millions upon millions of foreign immigrants in those years, including our pitiable Chinese compatriots—the first—generation Chinese workers who came to California to build railroads and work gold mines—if they had not cherished a splendid longing for it as the "Promised Land" they probably would not have left their native places to make long ocean crossings and come to America. Up to today, every year several hundreds of thousands of foreign immigrants come to America. Some of them come in through legal channels, but more slip across the border. Like peasants north of Suzhou swarmed into Shanghai before liberation and a large number of Indian peasants went to Calcutta and Bomaby, people who live in poverty in Mexico and Central American countries have entered America like a tide in the past several years, becoming "illegal immigrants." They simply imagine that there exists in this "Promised Land" an opportunity to lead a good life.

To publicize the "superiorities" of America's social and political systems, the politicians of the two U.S. parties always and constantly spread the myths that in America "there is equal opportunity for everybody," "anyone can become president," and "anyone can become a millionarie."

At first glance, this formulation seems to be not without truth. Isn't Kissinger an immigrant who was born in Germany? Also, Democratic vice president candidate Ferraro is the descendant of Italian immigrants; the current treasurer of the United States in the Republican administration, Ortega, is of Latin American descent. When the previous generation of their families came to America, they lived in poverty. Quite a few American millionaires and billionaires came from a poor family background, and among them there are even individuals who are Chinese immigrants.

The key to the question is: What actually is the percentage of these lucky fellows in the total population? Around a successful person are many persons who are similarly naturally endowed with intelligence and cleverness, and who are similarly engaged in arduous struggle, so why do they become failures?

It should be said that solely making the point that a person from a poor family background can become an important person, cannot show the superiority of the social system. In the feudal society, there were Lin Bang and Zhu Yuanzhang, so can it be said that at that time every Chinese peasant had an opportunity to rise head and shoulders above others?

Of course, a capitalist society provides more opportunities for people than a feudal society, and this is precisely its improvement over a feudal society. However, whoever naively believes that in this American society there is really "equal opportunity for everybody" had better look at a dialogue in an article written by the famous American black writer Claude Brown and published not long ago in the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE. Because of his autobiography "Manchild in the Promised Land," published in 1965, Brown became famous overnight. This writer, whose origin was Harlem, the black people's slum district in New York,

from his personal history perhaps can be considered an example of a person who truggled and succeeded. However, in this article entitled "Manchild of Harlem," he wrote sadly: "Harlem is no longer the Promised Land. For today's manchildren, it never was. It was only like this for their grandfathers and grandmothers." Also, "Harlem today is no longer a unique geographical unit in New York City. All the black people's districts in America are the same as it."

Then Brown related a significant conversation he had with a Harlem "manchild" who had been sentenced to 15 years in prison for armed robbery. "He looked to be less than 18 years old; he had not yet begun to shave!" Brown worte: "This youth is one of the absurd representative figures of the manchildren of the eighties." Brown asked this young criminal if he knew that every time he did this kind of thing there was at least a 60 percent chance that he would either be killed, wounded and crippled for life, or put in prison for a long stretch, and even if 9 times out of 10 he was able to steal more than \$1,000 in about 3 days or a week he would again be emptyhanded. The law for engaging in this kind of criminal activities is that, sooner or later, you will suffer one of the above-mentioned outcomes."

"I asked him how he could not see that there was no benefit in this? This young wastrel's answer left me dumbstruck."

"He answered: Mr Brown, I understand what you have in mind. But you're completely mistaken about the truth of the matter. Look, the various outcomes that you say I will probably suffer will make me no longer need to consider the problem of money, and are precisely why I do not lose the truth of anything. Please look for 1 minute at it from my viewpoint. Say, for example, that I go out (for armed robbery) and get killed. Then I will no longer need anything. Right? All my problems will be solved. I will no longer need money, no longer need anything. Right? All right, suppose I'm hit and a bullet breaks my spine, leaving me paralyzed--you must know that this also happens when playing football. Thus, I won't be able to go anywhere or do anything, and I also won't need to spend much money. Right? Therefore, I'll get relief money, and all the money I will need will be relief checks. Right? If the outcome is like it is now, namely, for 15 years, then I also don't need to worry about now having money to spend or clothes to wear. I don't need to pay rent for my lodgings, and I eat three meals a day free. Look, Mr Brown, (in engaging in robbery) I really don't lose anything."

Brown wrote: "Today's manchildren have less room for choices than our generation had, and the paths they can choose make one weep. For us in that time, when there was really no other way, we could always become a soldier. But in 1984 if a manchild wants to become a soldier, his educational level is so low that he will fail the written test. What they can do is: violate laws and commit crimes or become drug addicts (these two types of people always seem to spend the greater part of their life behind bars), or else go to an early grave (the large number ofpeople of this type is astonishing); only the most lucky fellows can escape the above-mentioned outcomes."

Brown's use of this pessimistic tone to describe the opportunities mainly points to American black youth (in July of this year their employment rate was 42.4 percent) and cannot be representative of the overall situation. Hower, no matter what the case is, it exists in the reality of American life. For these black youths as well as for people whose circumstances are somewhat better but who also have too many other difficult circumstances, it is not an easy thing to get a job. If, under these circumstances you talk to them about "equal opportunity for everybody" and "anyone can become president or a millionaire," then it will really be hard for them not to snort at you.

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cso: 4005/360

BEIJING CAMBODIAN ON SIHANOUK, LI XIANNIAN MEETING

BK300311 Beijing in Cambodian to Cambodia 1030 GMT 29 Jan 85

[Text] On the night of 28 January at 1830, Samdech Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, and his wife hosted a reception in honor of Li Xiannian, president of the PRC, and his wife. The reception was organized at Samdech Sihanouk's residence near central Beijing, capital city of China.

Earlier in January, President Li Xiannian met and hosted a reception for Samdech Sihanouk and his wife in Beijing. The two leaders met again 3 weeks later. When President Li Xiannian arrived, Samdech Sihanouk came out to greet him, and before the reception the two cordially chatted in the guest room. In this room are hung pictures of Samdech Sihanouk, his mother and his wife. On the northern wall of this room is a large picture of Angkor Wat.

Samdech Sihanouk said he is very happy to live in Beijing. The Cambodian people's struggle has received much support from China. He said Democratic Kampuchean resistance forces had scored victories inside Cambodia, as witnessed by Western reporters. He told President Li Xiannian he will visit Democratic Kampuchea. During his stay in Bangkok, he will discuss the issue of Vietnamese aggression against Cambodia with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who is visiting Thailand.

Li Xiannian said the Cambodian people's struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors has received sympathy from many countries around the world. At last year's UN General Assembly session, 110 countries supported Democratic Kampuchea and demanded that Vietnam withdraw its troops from Cambodia. This was a great victory due to the efforts by Son Sann, Khieu Samphan, and in particular Samdech Sihanouk. President Li Xiannian denounced the Vietnamese Army's continued attacks against nationalist troops, forcing many Cambodian refugees to flee to Thailand and causing the Cambodian people great suffering. President Li Xiannian is convinced that the Vietnamese authorities will ultimately be defeated as they were in their previous dry season offensives. President Li Xiannian told Samdech Sihanouk that China supports the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors under his leadership and, in the future, will support Cambodia to become an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned country.

The reception went on in a warm and cordial atmosphere. On the table were flowers and burning candles. Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress; Liu Shuqing, Chinese deputy foreign minister; Han Nianlong, chairman of the Chinese people's diplomatic affairs; and Chan Youran, Democratic Kampuchean ambassador to China, attended the reception.

CSO: 4212/041

#### BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE INCURSIONS INTO BORDER AREAS—At a news briefing in Beijing on 30 January, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that recently, while launching military attacks in areas along the Cambodian—Thai border, the Vietnamese authorities have made repeated military provocations and incursions into Chinese border areas. The Chinese frontier forces are in combat readiness to repulse the aggressors. [Text] [Beijing in Cambodian to Cambodia 1030 GMT 30 Jan 85 BK]

CSO: 4212/041

#### IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY'S EDUCATION POLICY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 9, 25 Sep 84 pp 3-5

[Article by Peng Peiyun [1756 3805 0061], Vice Minister of Education: "Resolutely Implement the Party's Policy of Education; Train a New Generation of All-Round People"]

[Text] It is a big event of the Young Pioneers that the Conference of Representatives of the Members and Counselors of the Young Pioneers was held on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Young Pioneers. This grand gathering fully reflected the concern and expectations of the party and the state for the children and teenagers and their counselors. On behalf of the Ministry of Education, I extend warm congratulations to all representatives and all members of the Young Pioneers of the whole country and convey heartfelt thanks and sincere greetings to Comrades counselors who have been diligently educating and nurturing the younger generation. I would like to talk about the following three points:

I. Resolutely Implement the Party's Policy of Education and Train a New Generation of All-Round People

In September last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Education must be geared to the needs of modernization, of the trends of the world and the needs of the future." He thus showed the direction of educational work in the new historical period. The children and teenagers today will become the main force in the socialist modernization drive toward the end of this century and in the next century. As has been pointed out by Comrade Deng Yinchao, the boundlessly beautiful future of our motherland belongs to them, and they have to create their future. The task of the primary and middle schools is to take the "three directions" as the ideological guidance and to train the children and teenagers to be a generation of new people with ideals, moral integrity, knowledge, a sense of discipline and good health so that when they are grown up, they can stand any tests and bear heavy burdens and will have a pioneering spirit and be able to wage heroic struggles for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. To lay a good foundation morally, intellectually and physically as children and teenagers will greatly influence the accomplishments of their lives. Of course, it is crucial to lay a good foundation at an early age in learning general and scientific knowledge in order to master the skills needed for building the socialist motherland and to meet the challenges of a

new technological revolution in the world. As far as the children and teenagers are concerned, however, it is of greater importance to train them at an early age to become people with communist political consciousness, good conduct and strong physique. With respect to learning general and scientific knowledge, we should not only require the students to learn basic knowledge from textbooks but also pay special attention to developing their intellect and cultivating their ability. Only in this way can we train a generation of new people with revolutionary ideals, useful skills and the ability to build the beautiful future of the motherland.

In order to realize the above-mentioned goals of training, we educational workers must implement in a comprehensive manner the party's educational policy, correct our guiding ideas about school education and resolutely rectify the tendency of onesidedly pursuing a high middle school or college admission rate. At the National Conference on the Work of General Education held in July last year, the Ministry of Education lay particular emphasis on this question and put forward several measures. In the past year, many schools have actively carried out experiments on reforming their teaching system, teaching plans, contents of teaching and teaching methods and have achieved gratifying results. For example, in order to raise the quality of teaching, lighten the students' overly heavy load of study and ensure their healthy growth marked by their initiative and liveliness, No 1 Zhongxin Primary School, the Primary School of No 1 Normal School, Yucai Middle School and Kongjiang Middle School in Jingan District, Shanghai Municipality, have carried out experiments on educational reform with their own unique characteristics. In accordance with the principle of "less, better and livelier," Zhongxin Primary School in Jingan District has improved the classroom teaching, added various interesting courses on scientific subjects and actively developed extracurricular activities concerning science and technology, music, fine arts, etc., thereby broadening the students' mental horizon, inspiring their interest in study and broadening and advancing the knowledge they acquired in the classroom. In carrying out her experiment in reforming the teaching of mathematics, Ma Xinlan [7456 5361 5695], a teacher at Happy Village's Zhongxin Primary School in Chaoyang District, Beijing, assiduously studied and boldly carried out innovations to reduce the students' load of study while, at the same time, enabling them to study in a lively and steady way. Three primary schools in Heilongjiang Province have received notable results in carrying out an experiment in teaching the Chinese language by "teaching Chinese characters with the help of phonetic notation and doing dictation at an earlier stage." All these experiments with teaching reform must receive our enthusiastic encouragement, and the educational workers must be commended for the enthusiasm and courage they have displayed and the arduous labor they have expended in the educational reform. While conclusions can be drawn soon from some experiments with educational reform, other experiments have to be tested for a longer period of time. It is normal that divergent opinions have been raised in the course of exploration. We hope that the educational departments in all localities will conscientiously strengthen their leaderhship and organize various reform experiments in a systematic manner so as to promote the progress of educational reform in a sustained and sound way.

It must be pointed out that the party and the government have given repeated instructions to correct the tendency of onesidedly pursuing a high middle school or college admission rate. Although efforts have been made in some places to implement the instructions, the tendency has not been corrected in earnest, and it has become even worse than ever in some places. The ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO [CHINESE EDUCATIONAL NEWS] carried a letter on 8 May, this year, from the parent of a student. The letter, entitled "How Should the Primary School Education be Carried Out?", disclosed the erroneous practices of a certain primary school in violation of the educational policy and the laws of education and teaching due to onesidedly pursuing a high middle school admission rate and their serious consequences. Because the problems revealed in this letter are common problems which have existed in the work of the primary school education in the past few years, they have attracted the attention of all educational workers and knowledgeable people of the society. Many comrades have pointed out that these erroneous practices have turned innocent and lively children into dull boys and girls, affected their physical and mental health and greatly weakened their enthusiasm for study and creativeness. thereby running counter to the goal of training revolutionary successors. People are painfully aware of the need that the practices revealed in this letter should not be allowed to continue. At this conference, the representatives issued a strong call: "Return Sundays to us!" There are many causes of the onesided pursuit of high middle school or college admission rate. With respect to the institutions of education, the main responsibility does not lie with the teachers. They should not be blamed. The problem is that some higherlevel leading departments have, up to now, clung to an erroneous guiding ideology concerning education and are still fostering the onesided pursuit of a high middle school or college admission rate. In some places, they have used the scores of the students in unified examinations to rate and evaluate their schools, and in other places, they have linked the assessment of the teachers' wages and bonuses and the students' scores and their rates of middle school or college admission. All this has been carried out by administrative and economic means to force the schools and teachers to act against the laws of education and teaching. We hope that the educational departments will fully realize their duty and will be determined to adopt practical measures to rectify the tendency of onesidedly pursuing a high middle school or college admission rate. As for the pressure from society, they must have the courage of persisting in their principle and do more publicity and explanation work. In our view, in areas where the junior middle school education has been made compulsory, no unified examinations should be required for admission to junior middle schools. All those who have passed the primary school graduation examinations should be allowed to go on to nearby junior middle schools. The enrollments of key middle schools should cover larger areas of the sources of students. They should allocate quotas to primary schools. The primary schools make recommendations, and the middle schools select the qualified. In our view, this is an effective measure to relieve the pupils of the primary schools from frequent examinations and their excessively heavy load of study and to relieve the administrators and teachers of the primary schools from the pressure of pursuing a high middle admission rate. Schools in all areas should make experiments on this measure and then resolutely carried it out step by step. We are convinced that so long as the people concerned on all positions make concerted efforts and overall arrangements, the problem of a onesided pursuance of a high middle school or college admission rate can be gradually resolved.

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m II.}$  Improve and Strengthen the Ideological and Moral Education of the Children and Teenagers

The leading comrades of the party Central Committee have repeatedly pointed out that the building of socialist spiritual civilization must start with the children at an early age. With the warm concern and under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the primary and middle schools in all areas have made notable achievements in the ideological and moral education of the children and teenagers.

Today, the new situation and new tasks have set higher standards for the ideological education of the children and teenagers. At the same time, the development of and changes in China's economy, society and families have posed new questions to the work of educating the children and teenagers. The policy of opening the country to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy is undoubtedly a correct and necessary one. However, bourgeois ideology of every description and bourgeois life-style have also made inroads into China as a result and exercised a negative influence on the children and teenagers through various channels. What is particularly worthy of note is that children of single-child families are increasing in numbers, and many of their parents pamper them so that some of them have become soft and developed such habits as disliking labor and showing no concern for the collective. Hency, we should by no means treat lightly the ideological and moral education of the children and teenagers and should be keenly aware of the importance, urgency and long-term requirement of such ideological and moral education.

Comrade Wan Li [5502 6849] recently pointed out: in order to strengthen the ideological and political work, we must improve the ideological and educational work, otherwise it will be impossible to strengthen it. The ideological and political work must be well oriented in its contents and methods, otherwise it will not accomplish much or get no result at all. We must orient our work to the strengthening of the "five-love" education to instil into the children at an early age the social morality of loving the motherland, loving the people, loving labor, loving science and loving socialism. We must through various educational activities implant in their young minds the call of the Young Pioneers: "Always ready to struggle for the cause of communism," and turn it into their lofty ideal. We must guide them in setting a clear goal of study for the purpose of revitalizing China and developing their initiative for study and creativeness. We must guide them to start with small matters of immediate concern and develop collectivism through practical activities. We must educate them to realize the dignity of labor and the wrong idea of classifying labor into the high-class and low-class categories, to love the fruits of labor and to develop good labor habits. This kind of education should be carried out not only through classes on ideology and morality but also through the teaching of all subjects and all extracurricular activities. We have decided that the two weeks a year kept in reserve in the original primary school teaching plan be rescheduled for collective activities. Each school can use the two weeks for this purpose without interruption to carry out interesting collective activities of educational value. We hope that the Young Pioneers will organize well such activities in close coordination with the school authorities.

In order to improve the ideological and moral education of the children and teenagers, we must conscientiously study the laws of development of the physiological, psychological and ideological characteristics of the children and teenagers of different age groups and must be good at inspiring and guiding them to proceed from the easy to the difficult and step by step. We should not do everything by "arbitrary uniformity" (treating things in a sweeping manner without considering the differences). We must develop various activities suited to the characteristics of the children and teenagers to enrich their life inside and outside the school and educate them by lively methods which produce clear images so that educational activities will become more attractive and inspiring. Attention should be paid to overcome the use of any adult model and formalism. The children and teenagers should not be subjected to passive restriction and bondage or simplistic criticisms and reproaches. More importantly, corporal punishment in disguise or not should be strictly prohibited. In order to train a generation of new people with a pioneering spirit and able to build a beautiful future for the motherland, we must criticize and rectify all kinds of erroneous ideas about education and strive to train the children to become people with a broader mental horizon and greater courage, resolve and vitality.

To train a socialist new generation is the cause of the whole party and whole society. School education, family education and social education should be closely coordinated. Only by mobilizing all the forces of the whole society can we provide all the favorable conditions for the healthy growth of the children and teenagers and can we, through concerted efforts, prevent and resist influences which are unfavorable to them. In the past several years, many old comrades have voluntarily shouldered the glorious task of training the younger generation, adopted various flexible methods to educate them by words or by example and received very good results. Facts have proved that old cadres, old workers, old peasants and old soldiers as well as heroes and models from all trades and professions are an invaluable force in carrying out the ideological and political education of the children, teenagers and young people. We should make better use of this force. The schools have the responsibility to keep in close touch with the parents of the children. Meanwhile, in the light of the fact that young parents do not know how to educate their children, it is imperative to adopt such methods as sponsoring lectures and operating special schools for parents to popularize among them the knowledge needed to educate the children and teenagers. The representatives of the members of Young Pioneers to this conference said in a proposal: we need more films and programs for the children and more places for their activities. We earnestly hope that the propaganda, cultural, publishing and other related departments as well as writers, artists and scientists will be able to provide more and better spiritual food for the children. We hope that the party and government departments in all localities will open up more places for the activities of the children. Sanming Municipality in Fujian Province has emphasized the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization at the same time. They raised funds and incorporated the construction of places for the activities of the children and teenagers into the municipal construction plan. In 4 years, they have built Young Pioneers palaces and childrens' parks fairly large in scale. This advanced experience is worthy of emulation.

III. Attach Great Importance to and Bring to Full Play the Role of the Organization of the Young Pioneers

The Young Pioneers is a mass organization founded by the party for the children and teenagers and a school for them to learn communism. Its education of the children and teenagers is realized through its unique organizational form, rich and varied activities and its collective life in which its members are the masters of their own affairs. Practice over many years has proved that the Young Pioneers is an important and indispensable component part of the cause of the overall education of the children and teenagers and provides an effective aid to school education. The education provided by the Young Pioneers and school education are closely linked and inseparable, each having its own emphasis and each complementing the other. The role of the organs of the Young Pioneers can not be replaced by that of schools and classes. To bring to full play the role of the organs of the Young Pioneers is conducive to the growth of the children and teenagers morally, intellectually and physically in a more positive and lively manner, conducive to integrating education inside class and outside class as well as education inside school and outside school and conducive to bringing to full play the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the children and teenagers so that they can educate themselves. In recent years, the organs of the Young Pioneers, in applying the policy of "organizing all children and teenagers," have admitted all children of the right age starting from the first grade of primary school, thereby demonstrating more clearly their place and role in school education. Educational departments and schools at all levels should attach great importance to and actively support the work of the Young Pioneers and bring to full play the organs of the Young Pioneers.

First of all, they must be concerned about and guide the work of the Young Pioneers as part of their duty and pay special attention to it. The responsible comrades of educational departments (bureaus) must take a personal interest in the work and assign special personnel to be in charge of keeping in close contact with the Young Pioneers organs to exchange information and achieve close coordination. They must take the initiative to familiarize themselves with the work of the Young Pioneers organs and study together with the organs of the Communist Youth League how to solve the difficulties and problems faced by the Young Pioneers organs and help them sum up their experience in work. Schools must get the counselors of the Young Pioneers brigades to participate in school council meetings and incorporate the work of the Young Pioneers in their plans of school educational work. The time for the activities of the members of the Young Pioneers must be guaranteed.

Secondly, they must assist the Communist Youth League committees in building up contingents of the Young Pioneers' counselors. They must select teachers of high political consciousness, great love for children and work ability to be the counselors of the Young Pioneers brigades. These counselors can assume the position and role comparable to those of a school's vice deal of studies. Primary schools wherever possible can each select a vice principal, dean or vice deal of studies to serve concurrently as a brigade counselor and select a young comrade to serve as a deputy counselor. They must show great concern for the work, study and life of the counselors. Counselors with notable

achievements in the work of the Young Pioneers should be given timely commendation. At the time of wage adjustment, the selection of advanced workers and the assessment of teachers for promotion in rank, the ability and achievements of teachers who serve exclusively as brigade counselors in doing their work should form the major basis for evaluation. A variety of methods such as running lectures, short-term courses and study classes for those released from work must be employed to reinforce the training of brigade counselors in order to constantly raise their political, intellectual and professional levels. Measures must also be taken to popularize the basic knowledge about the Young Pioneers among all counselors at the intermediate contingent level. The continuing education program featured by the journal, FUDAOYUAN [COUNCELLOR], is a good method for training counselors. Educational departments and schools must give it ample support and provide conditions for counselors to study. To enable the students of secondary teachers training schools to master the basic knowledge and skills for doing the Young Pioneers work, a chapter on "the Work of the Young Pioneers" should be added to the curricula of these schools, and such work should form part of the students' practice teaching. There are now 3.7 million counselors of the Young Pioneers. They are an important force for doing well the work of educating children and teenagers. The work of counselors is arduous and honorable. I want to take this opportunity to convey what we expect of you Comrades counselors. We hope that you will fully realize from the long-term strategic point of view the great significance of the work of the Young Pioneers, ardently love the cause of the Young Pioneers and bring to full play the spirit of dedication and the trail blazing spirit in order to make greater contributions to training a new generation of communist people. We hope that you will ardently love the children and teenagers, try to understand them, be their intimate friends, influence and inspire them with your loving hearts and fine examples, show concern for their overall growth morally, intellectually and physically and combat all tendencies which are harmful to their physical and mental health. We hope that you will study diligently and not only study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, educational theories and the knowledge about the work of the Young Pioneers, but also unceasingly increase and update your general and scientific knowledge. Counselors who are qualified should also involve themselves in class teaching so as to deepen their understanding of the children and teenagers and familiarize themselves with the work of teaching. When you leave your posts as counselors, you will become core educational workers conversant with both ideological education and teaching. We hope that you will stand in the forefront of educational reform and the reform of the work of the Young Pioneers, liberate your thinking, seek truth from facts, engage in active exploration, work in a downto-earth manner, make contributions and progress in enriching and enlivening extracurricular activities of the children and teenagers and their life outside school and strive to open up new prospects for the work of the Young Pioneers. I wish this conference a complete success.

(This article is a talk given by its author on July 26, 1984, at the Conference of Representatives of the Members and Counselors of the Young Pioneers. The author made some revisions for its publication in this journal.)

12806

CSO: 4005/309

NEW COLUMN ON IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Si Wei [0834 4850]: "A Good Horse Is One that Runs 1,000 Miles a Day"]

[Text] Editor's note: We have just opened a column "Brief Talk", which is an arena for the vast ranks of intellectuals. Its contents will deal with intellectuals and their comments.

As its name implies, the top priority is speed. There is speedy news and there are also straightforward comments. We hope to reflect the opinions, hopes and problems of intellectuals of all fronts in a timely manner.

Since this is Kuai Yu, it also means fast so that the readers can consume. It is limited to 300--400 words per article.

Kuai Yu also signifies a hope that our vast ranks of readers will talk frankly.

We welcome your contribution.

In implementing the policy on intellectuals, a certain locality in Shanxi wanted to warm the hearts of all by giving to the middle and primary school teachers in mountainous areas the floating salary of 1-3 grade, but at the same time it stipulated that they should be the holders of diplomas from a middle specialized school or above. This proviso has chilled the heart of a large number of teachers. Many comrades started teaching after graduating from senior middle school, and they have attained the academic level of middle specialized schools although they do not possess the diploma. Why were they left out of the implementation of the policy on intellectuals and on improving the renumeration of teachers?

Some of our comrades have formed a bad habit these years—they like things clearcut in all cases, and how clear cut depends on the wording instead of on fact. For example, the improvement of the renumeration of teachers

in the mountainous areas in certain areas of Shanxi depends on the possession of a diploma. All those who possess a diploma are accorded the privilege and nothing goes to those who do not. This kind of simple way of handling the matter will mess things up.

It seems that the implementation of the policy on intellectuals needs a correct way of thinking so that the truth may be sought from facts. Everything should start from the fact and not the name; the fact especially should correspond to the name. The book "Lu Shih Chun Qiu" [0712 3044 2504 4428] states: "A sharp sword is one that cuts well, it matters not if its name is Mo Xie [5459 6723]; a good horse is one that runs 1,000 miles a day, it matters not if its name is Ao [7514]." As long as a sword is sharp, and as long as a horse runs 1,000 miles a day, what does the name matter? In the same way, as long as one is truly capable and learned, he should be accorded the same treatment—it does not matter if he possess a diploma or not!

11729

CSO: 4005/401

#### USE OF TALENTED PEOPLE URGED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 22, 25 Nov 84, p 25

[Article by Wen Jin [0795 3160]: "Assess, Understand and Make Use of Talent"]

[Text] People have strong points and weak points as well. "As there is no pure gold, so there are no perfect people." The way to make use of talent in people lies in amplifying their strengths and avoiding their weaknesses. The proper use of talent consists of putting each type of person to the best use. If you are not skilled at using talent and wear colored glasses when you assess people, it is hard to bring the strengths of able people into play and you may even constrain them for a long period until they rust and corrode into waste.

I was in the home of a friend, looking at an untitled poem, which went as follows: "A white jade disc unmarred is rarely seen, and gems unobscured by flaws are equally rare; but a warrior with scars is great in the end, while a perfect fly was originally a maggot." At once you know that this is a quote from the passage in Lu Xun's essay "The Warrior and the Fly": "A warrior with shortcomings is in the end a warrior, while a perfect fly is in the end no more than a fly." There has never been a perfect sage in the human realm, and if there were, it would be nothing more than a man-made myth. It is hard for the great figures of history to avoid shortcomings and mistakes, so how much more so for countless ordinary people?

In using talent, we must avoid having prejudice. Seeing a certain person with some strong points who accords with your own ideas and praising him to the skies with no regard for the criticism of the masses is known as "glossing over 100 defects with one talent," while seeing a certain person with some flaws who does not accord with your own ideas and discarding him like a pair of worn-out shoes, attacking him for a single fault without considering his other aspects, is known as "obscuring 100 talents with one defect." Actually, even if people have made mistakes, they cannot be lumped together. Not only should we look at the quality, magnitude, degree of acknowledgement and correction of the mistakes, but we should also distinguish between good people making mistakes and evildoers doing evil deeds. If we do not use a developed point of view in assessing talent, assess things on the whole, or in their essence, we will not be able to discover talent or be skilled at using it.

Building the four modernizations requires the vigorous exploitation of every kind of raw material, of which, human talent is the most important. Amid the mighty torrent of the four modernizations drive, all kinds of new talent have already emerged, yet things being unequal, each has strengths and weaknesses. Only be daring to employ pathbreaking talent that has its defects and daring to employ people who have experienced suffering and have realized their errors can we lead people very far in the way to use talent, like the great Bo Le.

All farsighted politicians and entrepreneurs are happy to look on recommending, valuing and training talented people as their own glorious responsibility, in particular, some high-ranking revolutionaries of the older generation, who command admiration by their example. The pity is that in some locales conditions where talented people are suppressed and worthy people are shunned still exist, which should draw the attention of leaders at every level.

Liu Bei made three calls at the thatched cottage, asking Zhuge Liang to assist him in ruling the country, in order to complete the great enterprise of reviving the house of Han. This is a story of a great event, passed on with approval through the ages. In our socialist society of today, who knows how many Zhuge Liang's, great or small, there may be. The question is if there are leaders in the leading bodies at all levels and all walks of life with Bei's insight, daring and magnanimity to be courteous to the worthy.

12534 CSO: 4005/359 LAWS PROTECTING RIGHTS OF WOMEN, CHILDREN DISCUSSED

Shanghai FAXUE /JURISPRUDENCE/ in Chinese No 11, 10 Nov 84 pp 28-31

 $\sqrt{\text{Article}}$  by Hao Lihui  $\sqrt{6787}$  0500 2264 $\overline{/}$  and Liu Jie  $\sqrt{0491}$  2638 $\overline{/}$ : "Local Laws and Regulations Concerning Protecting the Leigtimate Rights and Interests of Women and Children" $\overline{/}$ 

/Text/ Over the past year, the People's Congress Standing Committees in the five provinces of Sichuan, Fujian, Liaoning, Hebei, and Hubei have drafted and promulgated successively laws and regulations for protecting the legitimate rights and interest of women and children. According to reports, work in this area is going forward in other provinces, autonomous regions, and self-governing municipalities. It is for this reason that there is good sense in exploring the issue.

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Protection of the legitimate rights and interests of women and children and nurturing the growth and health of children and adolescents are among China's basic national policies. Since liberation -- and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee -- the party and the nation have laid great stress on the protection of women and children. A number of major laws and policies have been formulated; and much work has been done. However, China's feudal society has had a long history; the roots of feudal ideology and consciousness run deep. Moreover, there was the destruction wrought by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" on the legal system and influences brought by the policies of opening up to the outside world and revitalizing the economy at home, all of which led to serious infringements of the legitimate rights and interests of women and children. Such evils as rape, marriage trafficking, abuse of women, drowning infants, kidnapping and sale of women and children, and prostitution cropped up in numerous instances. In addition, some units adopted a variety of unfair practices in their treatment of women, such as requiring more stringent test scores for accepting female students and workers, shifting qualifications for registrants, and unequal pay for equivalent work. For these reasons, there is an urgent need for the formulation of local laws and regulations protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children which abide by the constitution and China's basic laws and policies and which proceed from the actual needs of various provinces.

The legitimate rights and interests of women and children implicate all facets of social life, and are extremely broad in scope. It is neither feasible nor necessary to cover every aspect of the question; rather, rules should be laid out for only the most important and prominent issues. From the standpoint of national policies, laws and regulations, and prior legislative experience, the major issues are as follows:

- (1) Protecting women's rights of equality with men. China's constitution stipulates that: "Women of the People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in the areas of political economic, cultural, social and domestic life." From the standpoint of local laws already in effect in the various provinces, regulations in this area are of major importance. Thus, Liaoning has ruled that "all units recruiting staff, workers or students must adhere strictly to the principle of sexual equality. Excluding those special lines of work and professions which the state has held unsuitable for women, there should be overall planning for selection and employment of the best candidate, unobstructed by any prejudice against women."
- (2) Protecting the special rights and interests of women and children. Because of their unique physiological characteristics, women and children are more susceptible to harm from adverse natural and social conditions. For this reason, they have special rights and interests which must be protected. Hubei province has ordered that "relevant sectors and units must conscientiously implement welfare and compensation regulations concerning women and children in the areas of labor insurance, occupational safety, family planning, and female health protection...and establish a system for protecting women during such special physiological periods as menstruation, pregnancy, parturition, nursing, and menopause. Daycare must be vigorously developed and managed.... Collectives and individuals should be encouraged to open daycare facilities...."
- (3) Protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children in marriage and in the home. China's constitution and marriage law respectively deal with regulating this issue. The Fujian regulation reads: "Anyone using violent means to force a woman to marry or gathering others for the purpose of stealing brides shall be charged with the crime of violent interference with freedom of marriage under Sec 179 of the Penal Code. Those participating in the abovementioned criminal actitivites as central figures shall be treated as acting in concert. Anyone who forcibly engages in sexual activity with a woman kidnapped for such purposes shall be charged with forcible rape under Sec 139 of the Penal Code. 'Where any third party through interference destroys another's marriage or domestic relationship and the injured third party files suit, the third party and the offending partner shall be sentenced to receive criticism education and organizational discipline for less serious offenses. For more serious offenses, they shall be deprived of political rights, and those suited to labor reform will be so treated. In egregious cases resulting in serious consequences, criminal liability shall be meted out in accordance with law."

Protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children in marriage and the home also involves dealing with such related issues as the remarriage and inheritance rights of widows, inheritance rights of daughters, apportionment of community property and child custody after divorce, initiation of divorce proceedings by a man when a woman gives birth to a girl or is unable to conceive, and divorce sought through fraud, which should also be addressed by appropriate local regulations.

(4) Protecting the personal rights of women and children. These personal rights are given direct protection under the constitution and the penal code. These are supplemented in many provinces by local regulations according to the actual local situation. Thus, Sichuan's regulation reads: "Anyone who, for financial gain, uses such methods as faud, seduction, threats, or force to deal in the sale of women and children sahll be sentenced with the crime of kidnap for sale of a person under Sec 141 of the Penal Code. Anyone who in committing such a crime intentionally harms, illegally restrains and rapes, or has illicit sexual relations with a woman, or the like, shall, in accordance with the Penal Code, be charged with such multiple crimes." "Activities in the performing arts harmful to the physical health of a woman or child shall be strictly prohibited by the people's government, public security, or cultural departments of the place. Anyone persisting in such activities shall be dealt with in accordance with the public order provisions of public security organs. Egregious cases of such activity, resulting in injury to a woman or child, shall be dealt with in accordance with Sec 134 or 135 of the "Peanl Code." Where the death of a woman or child is involved, the punishment shall be severe."

III

Formulations of these local laws and regulations not only provides effective guarantees that the legitimate rights and interests of women and children will be protected; it is also experience useful in formulating other local laws and regulations.

Some comrades view the formulation process as a search for comprehensiveness. Others feel that only those regulations needed to fill the gaps in the national laws and policies need be enacted. We are of the opinion that both these views have flaws. The more scientific and rational method is to face squarely the major issues in protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children in a particular province, marshall all relevant regulations from national laws and policies, and bring together the various different situations to produce concrete regulations. This is the way it has been done in most places. Brought together, the various local laws and regulations of different provinces can be categorized as follows:

(1) Repetition. Some issues are explicitly dealt with in national laws and policies, but since the work of popularization and education on the legal system is sufficient neither in its breadth nor its depth, the broad masses of cadres and masses are as yet unversed in it, to the point some crimes arise because the criminals misunderstand the law. Thus propaganda and education must be achieved through repetition, so that the people will become aware of the goals of abiding by and carrying out the laws. Thus, "Certain Regulations for

Protecting the Legitimate Rights and Interests of Women and Children of Sichuan" stipulates: "Married persons who remarry, or those who marry another knowing full well that such person is married, shall be charged with the crime of multiple marriage under Art 180 of the 'Penal Code.'" Provisions which merely repeat regulations of the national laws and policies shall be construed in the original sense without modification.

- (2) Emphasis. Some issues, although addressed in the national laws and policy documents, are still given insufficient attention and execution by concerned sectors in some procuratorial and administrative organs. They must therefore be emphasized so that such sectors will be pressed into executing the law. Thus, Art 6 of the "Liaoning Regulations Protecting the Legitimate Rights and Interests of Women and Children" stipulates: The national regulations regarding labor insurance and preserving the health of women and children must be conscientiously carried out. In arranging work, the unique physiological features of women should be taken into account, and women who are pregnant or nursing should be afforded appropriate treatment." These provisions may emphasize one aspect of the national laws and policies, but there is no need to cite the originals.
- (3) Implementation. Some national laws and policies are spelled out in principle; but implementing provisions are needed it they are to be carried out. Thus, the constitution states that the socialist marital system of monogamy is to be protected, yet as to how, not only are regulations needed in the penal code and marriage law, but sometimes local laws and regulations are needed as well. For example, in the case where a third party becomes involved in a domestic relationship, local laws can resolve the problem to ensure that the national law is carried out. Hebai, Fujian, Hubei, and Liaoning have all set forth provisions implementing laws on this problem.
- (4) Clarification. Some problems which might have been handled by implication or inference from current national laws and policies have not been, since they were isolated or of a miscellaneous nature in the past. For various reasons, this problem is getting more serious now, and is becoming a social problem of concern to all. In such a situation, local laws and regulations can clarify the nature of an issue and how to utilize the national law or policy to resolve the question. Such is the case for prostitution. Because prostitution damages the social order, Fujian has ordered that "those who persist in whoring and prostitution shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions on hooliganism in Art 160 of the 'Penal Code.'" Likewise, some provinces now treat the abandonment of infants as abandonment generally.
- (5) Compulsoriness. Where a certain question has not yet been covered in current national law or policy and where they do not clash with the national constitution or laws, local laws and regulations may make the rule. Thus, in the face of abortions which are carried out on the basis of the sex of the fetus, Liaoning has held that: "it is strictly forbidden for any health or medical unit or individual to check on the sex of a fetus. Medical research units which must determine the sex of a fetus should obtain permission from higher health management departments. Where a fetal sexual determination is required because of genetic disease of the parent or parents, permission will

be obtained from a hospital at the county (municipality) level or higher. Those who disobey should be identified and severely punished." In the case of attempts to use fraudulent methods to trick a spouse into agreeing to a divorce, Hubei has ruled that: "in the case of any use of fraudulent methods to obtain a divorce through trickery, the organ which accepted and handled the registration of the divorce shall cancel such registration and retrieve the divorce certificate." These regulations were all devised by the provinces themselves.

ΙV

The following issues must be noted in formulating local laws protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children:

First of all, such laws must be in harmony with and not clash with the constitution or national laws. The constitution is the fundamental law of the nation, and is highest in legal force. All other laws must be in fundamental accord with it. National laws and policies set forth the basic principles and standards for adjusting all different kinds of social relationships within China and are also a major foundation for local laws. If local laws or regulations clash with the nation's constitution, laws, or policies, a serious consequence is that the uniformity of China's socialist legal system may be destroyed. They may also as a result be without legal effect. For example, it is set forth in draft laws of some provinces that seeking financial gain from marriage is punishable as fraud under Art 152 of the "Penal Code," or that adulterous relationships by a third party are punishable hooliganism under Art 160 of the "Penal Code." These are obviously inappropriate to China's criminal code; and therefore were not passed.

Next, work should proceed from actual conditions, reflecting regional characteristics and needs. Marxism holds that the legislator does not create the law
but merely manifests it. The legislator merely gives recognition to certain
objective laws as Law; and thus, the legislator must be rid of all individual
caprice. Only if laws can be clearly refined out of real situations will they
meet the test of practice and be able to effectively serve it. Thus, as we
formulate local laws, we must be sure to proceed from real situations, seek
truth from facts, rid ourselves of subjective notions and of taking anything
for granted. What should be drafted and what should not, and how extensive
the drafting should be, are all questions which must touch upon actual conditions.

To be steadfast in proceeding from real situations in the drafting of local laws and regulations, what is most important is to reflect the special features and needs of the place, and get hold of the major issues affecting it. Methods must be suited to the place and to events and problems solved with a sense of direction. For example Fujian set forth a number of regulations to govern serious problems with such criminal activities as forced marriages, taking in child brides, private removal of intrauterine devices, destruction of family planning, and borrowing of intrauterine devices, with manifest success. Regulations enacted in Hebei prohibiting barter of wives or exchange and in Hubei and Sichuan sternly attacking traffic in human beings, prohibiting incitement of women and children to run away, and for the return of those who have run away all in various ways reflect the special features and needs of their respective locales.

Third, attention should be paid to standards for laws and regulations. Laws are standards for adjusting human behavior, and must be normative. We have concluded that the standards needed for local laws and regulations protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women and children areas follows: (1) the three organic parts which make up legal standards are hypothesis, process and sanction. Although we cannot demand that every provision of every law have all three components, overall, each is indispensible. With any one lacking, the law is without binding force. (2) The concept should be clear. When a concept is adopted, its implications and inferences should be manifest; and descriptive, analogous, hyperbolic, or substitute language should not be employed to amplify its meaning. (3) Explication should be coherent. Not only should each provision be coherent, but the law as a whole should be so as well. (4) Narrative diction should be concise. Redundancy and verbosity, repetition and pedanticism should be vigorously avoided.

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CSO: 4005/311

#### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SEX RATIO AT BIRTH

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 29 Nov 84 pp 50-51

[Article by Gu Zushan [6253 4371 0810] of the affiliated hospital of Shihhezi Medical College, Xinjiang: "The Geographical Distribution of the Sex Ratio at Birth"]

[Text] The geographical distribution of the sex ration at birth has a double meaning for natural science and social science and has attracted attention in recent years.

In 1981, 20,689,704 babies were born in the entire country and the sex ratio at birth was 108.47. The sex ratio at birth of all the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities under direct central government control in descending order is as follows:

					100.0			106.0
Anhui	:	112.5	Hebei	:	108.2	Guizhou	:	106.8
Guangxi	:	110.7	Sichuan	:	107.9	Inner Mongolia	:	106.8
Guangdong	; :	110.5	Jiangsu	:	107.9	Gansu	:	106.3
Henan	:	110.3	Jiangxi	:	107.9	Qinghai	:	106.2
Shandong	:	109.9	Jilin	:	107.8	Ningxia	:	106.2
Hunan	:	109.5	Tianjin	:	107.7	Yunnan	:	106.2
Shanxi	:	109.3	Liaoning	:	107.1	Xinjiang	:	106.1
Shaanxi	:	109.2	Beijing	:	107.0	Shanghai	:	105.4
Zhejiang	:	108.8	Hubei	:	107.0	Xizang	:	101.3
Fujian	:	108.6	Heilongjian	g:	106.9	_		

If we place all the sex ratios at birth above 107 in a group, the group will consist of 19 provinces (municipalities and regions), with their populations accounting for 83 percent of the entire country. The blank portion in Diagram 1 is the group whose sex ratio at birth is 106.9 and under. They consist of 10 provinces (municipalities and regions) and account for 64 percent of the total area of the entire country. This is the hatched portion in Diagram 1. From here we can discover a strange phenomenon: in the coastal area (except Shanghai) and central China are the provinces where more baby boys than baby girls are born, and they are closely linked together; Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, the four northwest provinces, Xizang and Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, where fewer baby boys are born, form an arch that surrounds central China.

Figure 1. 1981 Sex ratio at birth in various provinces.

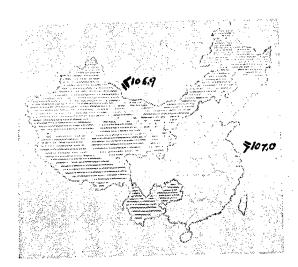


Figure 2. Geographic features, and sex ratios at birth.

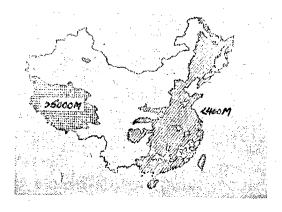


Figure 3. Population density and sex ratio at birth.



How may we explain this phenomenon?

1. The book "Huai Nan Zi" [3232 0589 1311] stated: the mountain atmosphere produces more males and the water atmosphere produces more females. This is the wrong conclusion drawn from the positive and the negative and the five elements. The fact is exactly the opposite. It, however, shows the close relationship between the sex ratio at birth and the topography. If we take 400 and 5,000 meters above sea level as the boundaries to divide our country's topography into three groups, we can see that the areas of more males at birth are closely related to the areas of topography at 400 meters and under above sea level. The interesting thing is that this assertion is remarkably true in Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou and that the Xizang Autonomous Region, which has the lowest sex ratio at birth (101.3) throughout the whole China, happens to be on the ridge of the world.

Of course, the topographical height does not necessarily have a direct influence on the sex at birth, but its meaning may be extended to the society, economy and culture.

2. When we place in order the 18 provinces and regions whose population density is higher than that of the country's average population density (105 per square kilometer), their location corresponds well with the blank portion in Diagram 1, with the exception of Guizhou. High population density naturally means economic and cultural development, agreeable climate and terrain. This writer has in the past discovered that the urban sex ratio at birth is higher than that of rural areas.<sup>2</sup>

The influence of the number of people in an province on the sex ratio at birth should theoretically be smaller, but the location of the 13 provinces with a higher population corresponds with the blank portion in Diagram 1, except Jilin, Shanxi and Shaanxi.

The sex ratio at birth in Beijing and Tianjin is a little lower than that of Hebei, and the sex ratio at birth in Shanghai is unexpectedly lower than all the other provinces except Xizang, while Shanghai Municipality is one of the few high ones in economic culture, population density and topography in the entire country, and the appearance of this phenomenon is the only exception that is difficult to explain. The sex ratio at birth of the three municipalities under direct central government control does not support the view that more baby boys are born in cities. While the sex ratio at birth in the developed countries in the West is also rather low, does the situation in the three municipalities explain that this is the very development trend of the future?

3. The hatched area in Diagram 1 includes mainly all the minority concentration areas of our country.

# Footnotes

- 1. The main figures of China's Third National Census, Beijing, 1982.
- 2. SHIHHEZI MEDICAL SCIENCE BULLETIN, Vol 3, p 135, 1981; SHIHHEZI MEDICAL SCIENCE BULLETIN, Vol 5, (1), p 1, 1983.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DISCUSSION ON PERSONNEL SYSTEM REFORM REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Sun Yong [1327 0516]: "Young People Working in the Central State Organs Held a Forum To Exchange Results of Personnel System Reform in Each Department and Suggested Ways and Means to the Relevant Departments in Charge of the Work"]

[Text] Today, more than 100 young people working in the central state organs gathered at the Beijing Science Assembly Hall to discuss the problems of reforming the personnel system. They considered the bold use of a new generation of talented people to be the key to reforming the personnel system.

This discussion session on reforming the personnel system was sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Labor and Personnel League committee and the central state organs League committee propaganda department, with the aim of exploiting the intellectual power of the young people, discovering talented young people, promoting the exchange of results in reforming the personnel system in each department and suggesting ways and means to the relevant departments in charge of the work.

At the discussion session, the young people pointed out that at present, there are still a great many problems with the age composition, flow of intellectual power, quality of personnel and avenues of selection in the cadre corps, which must be resolved as quickly as possible. Some comrades pointed out that to carry out personnel system reform there should be a purposeful, planned selection of outstanding young cadres to leave their posts and be transferred to lower levels, to take responsibility for enterprises or local leadership, and then after they had accumulated some leadership experience, they would take up their leading posts in the departments of the state organs again. Some pointed out that talented people in economic management, who have had practical experience at the basic levels and have the spirit of reform, should go into leading posts in the state organs, in order to strengthen the vitality of the organs' work. Some proposed that from now on the state organs should determine the practical capabilities of college graduates through the combined route of public testing and assessment and choose the best for employment. Many people maintained that although "Bo Le's knowledge of fine horses" was certainly one method for a personnel appointment system, the system of democratic election of leading cadres should also be pursued further.

# GREATER ATTENTION TO LETTERS FROM PEOPLE URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 85 p 4

[Commentary by Di Jihong [3695 3444 3163]: "Overcome Bureaucratism; Handle Work on Letters and Visits Well"]

[Text] Letters and visits from the people are a major avenue for close contact between the party and state leading bodies and the masses and a necessary democratic form under the socialist system. Therefore, they should always receive a high degree of attention from the party and the government. A leading comrade of the central authorities recently pointed out that "all departments should first report the situation accurately and second, handle the problem personally." This suggestion, which further defines the policies and tasks of party and government organs at all levels and especially the letters and visits departments, has important guiding significance.

We should see that a minority of comrades still lack the appropriate understanding of the importance of work on letters and visits and they often give the excuse of being "busy with work" for overlooking work on letters and visits. In practical work, there are still occasional manifestations of this kind of bureaucratic workstyle where letters and visits from the people are treated lightly or ignored. Some comrades do not investigate problems reported by the people, or put off and delay them and make people run back and forth. Some comrades have rigid thinking and stick to conventions, fail to take a position on problems that should be resolved and passively sit back and wait for official documents and instructions from superiors. Some go so far as to turn over the masses' letters exposing people to the person exposed, so that the person exposing the problem suffers attack and retaliation, which ruins the faith of the people in the party and the government.

Through letters and visits, the broad masses of the people directly state their opinions to the party, the state leading bodies and responsible persons, report their desires and needs, and raise criticisms and suggestions for our work. This is a major way for them to exercise their democratic power, participate in the management of national affairs and supervise party and state personnel. Therefore, whether or not the people's letters and visits are treated seriously and the problems they report are handled conscientiously, fundamentally speaking, reflects the problem of whether or not we have the mass viewpoint and respect the democratic authority of the masses.

The masses' avenue of letters and visits provides a huge amount of valuable criticism and suggestions. If work with letters and visits is done well, we could concentrate the wisdom of the masses to enrich our minds and obtain hard-to-find political and economic information that cannot be thought up sitting in an office, heard at a conference or read in a document. The leading comrades of the central authorities are busy with national affairs, but they still insist on reading over letters from the people. Many letters from the masses make very good suggestions on economic reform or the four modernizations drive and they receive the serious attention of leading comrades in the central authorities, who create relevant policies and documents based on them. In this regard, leading comrades in many localities have become aware of the benefits from them and they have styled their letters and visits departments as "Second Policy Research Institutes."

Many of the numerous practical problems reported in the masses' letters and visits may seem trivial, yet they are all directly related to their own vital interests and they reflect their feelings, desires and needs. By handling these problems well, not only can we get a broad understanding of the popular will, but the masses will feel the warmth of the party directly and realize the turn for the better in party workstyle. Even more, each letter or visit by the masses does not represent an isolated individual, because often when an individual's problem is solved, it will influence, educate or bring along a group of people. Those comrades who shout about being busy with work, do not think enough about work on letters and visits, or distain to attend them, have forgotten the well-being of the masses, have no concern for the lot of the masses, and are often only capable of fruitless, pointless efforts.

To overcome bureaucracy and handle work on letters and visits well, we must set up a rigorous duty responsibility system, raise work efficiency, strengthen supervision and speeding up and overcome the tendencies to be concerned only with dealing with superiors and not resolving practical problems. We should make performance in work on letters and visits an important part of cadre assessment and link it to promotions, appointments and removals of cadres. At the same time, we should vigorously promote a realistic workstyle for CPC members and totally prohibit the kind of bureaucratic, formalistic workstyle where people sit and talk and copy things word for word. China's territory is vast and her conditions are complex. Every problem reported by the masses has its own special characteristics, which demand that we must, under the prerequisite of seeking truth from facts, take the initiative in responsibility and handle all kinds of problems well, in line with local conditions. If everything waits on documents and documents depend on written instructions on a subordinate's report, then nothing ever gets done. Even if a problem cannot be solved or is hard to solve temporarily, it cannot be shirked, but should be handled the same as doing painstaking ideological or political work. With this spirit of taking the initiative in responsibility, daring to give the final verdict and handling things in a down-to-earth manner, we will certainly be capable of doing work on letters and visits well.

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## REMOVING BARRIERS TO MOBILITY OF EXPERTS

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 23, 10 Dec 84 pp 10-11

[Article by Ding Shiyi [0002 0013 5030]: "Removing Impediments to the Rational Mobility of Experts"]

[Text] The mobility of experts is right now an urgent problem in the construction of the four modernizations which cries for solution. To promote the mobility of experts, the Ministry of Labor Personnel has set up a national consultative service center for the interflow of experts and 146 expert interflow development centers have been set up in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, forming a nationwide expert mobility cooperation network. Committed to reform, these organizations are boldly experimenting to open the door to expert mobility.

China today has a total of 11 million experts in various fields, of which 1.4 million are senior and middle level technical personnel. These numbers certainly do not meet the requirements of the four modernizations. However, if we can find a way to distribute them rationally and make full use of their initiatives, they could make even greater contributions to the four modernizations. Discussing their management and utilization, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "Not that we do not have experts. The problem is whether or not we are effective in organizing and utilizing them so that they can give play to their expertise." On the one hand, we do not have enough experts. On the other hand, we have a great deal of enforced idleness and the waste that goes with it due to the poor organization of work. Many people are in jobs which do not make use of what they learned or are doing things they were not trained to do. According to statistics, over 1,200 people from various professional fields have approached the national consultative service center for the interflow of experts since last June, of whom 85 percent have jobs which do not relate to their training or specialty or are idle because of the failure of their units in personnel management. At the same time, 180 units have come to the consultative service center looking for a total of 2,000 experts of all kinds. Despite the massive amount of work it has done, the center has not made much of a dent in the problem: only 10 percent of those who asked to be relocated have actually been able to do so. The main impediment blocking the mobility of personnel is the "local policies" made by many areas and units themselves. As a result, apart from speeding up education in a planned way, we must remove the greatest obstacle in the existing personnel management system--the practice under which units or departments claim as their own experts working for them.

Some units often offer many pompous reasons for restricting the mobility of talent. For example, the person who wants out must vacate his quarters. Otherwise, he must remain with his unit as "emergency reserve" even though he does not have any work to do. The unit justifies its action on the ground that housing is so crowded that if a person leaves and still keeps his quarters, the masses would complain. Apparently it is not bothered by the inconsistency between this pretext and the fact that its own employees are also housed in lodgings that do not belong to it. After graduating from a professional or vocational school run by his unit, an expert may not find work within his unit which fits in with his training. Should he ask to be moved to another unit offering more suitable work, however, his original unit would let him go only upon receiving "tuition" payment or "loss of expert fee" from the receiving unit. Yet other units have stipulated that "all college graduates may not be released," the reason being that "maintaining an army for a thousand days is for using it for an hour."

How do we dismantle the barriers to the mobility of talent? In the absence of legislation, some local personnel departments have become arbitrators at the talent interflow service centers, talking things over with the uncompromising department which refuses to let go an expert who asks for a job elsewhere more in line with his qualifications. Where consultation fails, the expert can resign from his unit and the service center will arrange for his hiring by another unit. He will be paid his existing salary and suffer no loss in seniority. This is a good approach which should be popularized.

To get the experts they need, some units and enterprises offer them higher wages than they are making and hire them on a contract basis, with an option to renew, resign or dismiss when the contract expires. This practice should prove effective in regulating the supply and demand of qualified personnel.

Experts are a national and social treasure, not the monopoly of a single unit. We must work to change the thinking of those people who are now blocking the mobility of experts with such excuses as "housing" and "tuition." We must make them think in terms of national and overall interests and the overriding need of the four modernizations for expertise. We must help them adopt an overall point of view and overcome their departmentalism. As for housing problems, they can be resolved without too much difficulty. With experts moving between different units, housing overlapping is both commonplace and permitted under state policy.

To reform the personnel management system is not to discard the entire mechanism of planned management. In face, to ensure the completion of our economic plan and strengthen key constructions, the state must fall back on planned allocations to solve the problem of qualified personnel. In the past, units and departments took a proprietary interest in their staff, thereby obstructing both the inward and outward movement of experts. In this sense, getting rid of unit proprietaryship actually implies strengthening the authority of the state in expert distribution and allocation.

To facilitate the interflow of experts is one way of reforming the personnel system. If all of us develop an overall perspective and make the four modernizations our priority, the rational mobility of experts will be within reach.

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# EXPERTISE DESCRIBED AS NATION'S TREASURE

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 23, 10 Dec 84 pp 5-7

[Article by Gao Lu [7554 6424]: "We Should Study Comrade Zhou Enlai's Writings on Intellectuals"]

[Text] Among Comrade Zhou Enlai's important writings after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, a considerable portion deals with intellectuals. Even today, these writings still have a real guiding significance for our correct understanding and execution of the party's and state's policies on intellectuals.

After the establishment of new China, both party and state paid utmost attention to intellectuals and recruited them into the ranks of cadres on an extensive scale. A serious struggle was waged against the many wrongs to intellectuals, particularly "leftist" ones. Throughout Comrade Zhou Enlai stood at the forefront of struggle, as a representative of the correct direction we should follow.

In the early days of the People's Republic, Comrade Zhou Enlai had already proposed proper treatment for intellectuals from the old society, emphasizing that we must unite them with the broad masses of laboring people so that together they could construct a socialist motherland, change their old thinking and ideology through education and participation in actual social activities and show concern for their politics, livelihood and academic life. The story of how he incrested himself in the political progress of Cheng Yangqiu [4453 4291 4428], the famous Beijing opera actor, and acted as his reference for party admission warmed the hearts of tens of millions of intellectuals. At the time, some comrades were still uncertain as to the proper treatment of intellectuals from the old society, most of whom had undesirable family backgrounds. As early as 1950, Comrade Zhou Enlai had pointed out in no uncertain terms, "We should close ranks with and respect any scientists and intellectuals, irrespective of his proletarian, peasant, petty bourgeoisie or exploiting class origins, as long as they serve the people." This understanding set a correct direction for a series of subsequent intellectual policies.

In 1956, the Central Committee convened a conference on intellectuals specifically to deal with certain errors in the treatment of intellectuals that existed in our political work during the early days of the People's Republic. On behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai presented the conference with the "Report on the Intellectual Question" in which he pointed out that "while revolution needs intellectuals, construction needs them even more." In the socialist era, more than in any other age, we need to go all out to raise technological level and develop science and make use of scientific knowledge to the full. To do this, "we must depend on the active labor of intellectuals as well as the active labor of the working class and the masses of peasants. In other words, we must depend on the intimate cooperation between physical labor and mental labor, the fraternal alliance linking workers, peasants and intellectuals." The expression, "fraternal alliance," graphically describes the political status of intellectuals. By analyzing the materials collected during investigations on the conditions of intellectuals at the time, Comrade Zhou Enlai saw that basic changes had occurred in the outlook of China's intelligentsia over the previous 6 years. Most of the intellectuals from the old society had become "part of the working class." He proposed that their employment and treatment be improved based on the special characteristics of their work, they be accorded due trust and support and given necessary working conditions, and that their living conditions be upgraded appropriately to ensure that five sixths of their working time were spent on professional activities.

As the anti-right struggle broadened, some localities made the mistake of treating intellectuals in a better "left" than right way. In the early 1960's Comrade Zhou Enlai took part in and guided the formulation of working guidelines in such areas as science, education, literature and art and corrected such practices. In a talk titled "A Discussion on the Intellectual Question" which he delivered at a working conference on science, literature and art in Guangzhou in 1962, he pointed out, "Intellectuals do not form an isolated class, but are in fact a social structure made up of mental laborers." He was the first to point out at a scientific and technological working conference in Shanghai in early 1963, "The modernization of science and technology is the key to the modernization of agriculture, industry, defense, science and our efforts to make our fatherland a powerful socialist nation." He added, "We now have a rather solid scientific and technological force and a host of scientific research organizations. They are a national tresure." Correct policies did much to mobilize the intellectuals' initiative and led to the flourishing of our scientific and cultural enterprise so that both knowledge and intellectuals came to play an important part in socialist construction.

As soon as the "cultural revolution" burst upon the scene, however, correct policies were denounced as "revisionism," intellectuals were dealt a heavy blow and the intellectual circle was blighted. From 1970, Comrade Zhou Enlai made a great deal of efforts to help cultural and educational agencies resume their normal operations. In September 1972, he proposed that middle school students be allowed to enter university directly. Commenting on this later, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "Given the prevailing conditions then, it took much courage to put forward such an idea." That same year, Comrade Zhou Enlai also proposed that the nation take basic science and theoretical research seriously and instructed the Chinese Academy of Sciences to come to grips with this task.

At his suggestion, the first scientific and technological working conference since the outbreak of the "cultural revolution" was convened. For this reason, he was considered the behind-the-scenes backer of the "right deviationist resurgence" and attacked by the "gang of four."

Today, the party's and state's intellectual policy is back on the right track. A social climate that respects knowledge and experts is gradually taking shape. Historical review can consolidate correct ideas while theoretical studies also raise ideological consciousness. In this new historic era of socialist modernization, if we seriously study Comrade Zhou Enlai's writings on intellectuals, we can further improve our consciousness to implement the intellectual policy.

ROLE OF SOCIALIST LEGAL SYSTEM EXAMINED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 84 pp 40-42

[Article by Wu Zhangfa [0702 4545 3127]: "The Role of the Socialist Legal System in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Building a high degree of material civilization while working hard to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is one of the fundamental tasks of building socialism, as put to the entire party and the people of the nation by the 12th Party Congress of the CPC. Exploring the position and role of the socialist legal system in building a socialist spiritual civilization has major political significance for building a Chinese-style socialist legal system and spiritual civilization.

1. In its historical activities, mankind has created tremendous material wealth, while creating tremendous spiritual wealth at the same time. Laws are a manifestation of the will of the ruling classes. Laws of different eras and different types all reflect the objective conditions of social relations and classes that existed during that era. In history, progressive laws constitute a kind of civilization and are without doubt part of the spiritual wealth created by mankind. The "12 Laws" and the "Corpus Iuris Civilis" of ancient Rome, the "Kaihuang Code" and "Yonghui Code" of the Sui and Tang periods in China and The Declaration of the Rights of Man of the period of the French Revolution are still looked on today as the cultural heritage of these countries and peoples and valued as such. These laws of those times exerted a major influence over the creation of the material wealth of society and the construction of spiritual civilizations. For example, the "Tang Code," in guaranteeing the early Tang practices of the equal field system and the grain tax, corvee exemption tax and cloth tax taxes and corvee system, played a positive role in making the Tang economy prosper. The historical texts record that during Emperor Tang Taizong's time, "merchants traveled and camped in the open country, there were no more robbers and thieves, the jails were always empty, horses and cattle were left in open fields and outer gates were not shut. . . " ("Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Era," chapter 1). The "Tang Code" also had special regulations concerning foreign trade and cultural exchange, to guarantee normal intercourse in trade and culture, which directly advanced the common prosperity of civilization in China and abroad. The opening of the Silk Road, Xuanzhuang's journey to obtain scriptures and the great intercourse between Chinese and Japanese scholars and monks made tremendous

contributions to contemporary cultural exchange between China and the Western Regions, China and India and China and Japan. The laws promulgated by several European countries following the success of the bourgeois revolutions all stipulated freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Therefore, there was a thriving scene in contemporary literature and art in these countries. Well-known British authors, such as Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, Dickens and Thomas Hardy, and well-known French authors, such as Stendhal, Balzac, Dumas pere, Hugo, Zola and Romain Rolland made great, unprecedented achievements in their literary works, under the protection of the freedoms of speech and publication stipulated by bourgeois law.

Naturally, the preceding examples illustrate the effects of the progressive laws of a rising ruling class in protecting and promoting spiritual civilization. Yet the reactionary laws of a waning ruling class often destroy spiritual civilization. For example, the religious tribunals during the late period of feudalism in Europe employed brutal punishment to destroy science and progressive civilization. The Italian physicist and astronomer Galileo, because he opposed Ptolemy's earth-centered system and upheld the theory of the movement of the earth, was declared guilty and put under surveillance. The philosopher Giordano Bruno, because he accepted and developed Copernicus's theory of the solar system, was arrested and burnt alive as punishment. Examples of laws that destroyed or harmed progressive civilization in the late periods of the feudal dynasties in China also occurred without cease and are too numerous to mention individually.

In a socialist society, owing to the superiority of the socialist system and the correct leadership of the Marxist-Leninist ruling party, the construction of a socialist legal system and socialist spiritual civilization keep in step and complement each other. The major components in building the ideology of a socialist spiritual civilization are the world outlook of the working classes, Marxist theory, communist ideals, faith and morality, having an ideology of mastery, a collectivist ideology and a sense of organization and discipline appropriate to socialist public ownership, having the spirit of whole-hearted devotion to serving the people and a communist attitude toward labor, and socialist patriotism and internationalism. These components are directly reflected in China's constitution and laws. In the preface to China's new constitution, it clearly indicates that "China is one of the nations with the longest histories in the world. The peoples of China have together created a magnificent civilization with a glorious revolutionary tradition." Moreover, in the general program and in other chapters and sections, every aspect of ideology building is fixed by specific articles. For example, "The state advocates love of the motherland, love of the people, love of labor, love of science and love of socialism in social ethics, and carries out education on patriotism, collectivism, internationalism and communism among the people, as well as education on dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and opposes capitalism, feudalism and other decadent ideologies." These aspects of building the ideology of a socialist spiritual civilization are specifically stipulated in the laws formulated on the basis of the constitution. For example, China's marriage laws provide for the practice in China of a marriage system with freedom of marriage, monogamy and equality of men and women, as well as legal measures to protect the legitimate rights and interests of women, children and old people.

China's patent laws not only stipulate protection for the invention and creation of patents that benefit society, but they also prohibit activities that oppose the laws of the state and social ethics or that harm the public interest. The above stipulations both delineate the boundaries of legality and illegality for people's behavior and determine the standards of right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly for a socialist spiritual civilization. In China, the behavior permitted by law and the ideology that governs this behavior generally is permitted by a socialist ethical sense, moral standards and aesthetic principles, while behavior that is prohibited by law and the ideology that governs this behavior naturally cannot be tolerated by a socialist ethical sense, moral standards and aesthetic principles. This is very different from conditions in capitalist countries. For example, some time ago in the American press a kind of "world record" was publicized: a male citizen by the name of Wolf, 73 years old that year, had been married and divorced 25 times over the past 50 years. There was no justifiable grounds for his divorces, because they were based; entirely on the lure of money. This kind of behavior obviously violates public morality, yet is permissible by their laws, and further, it is entered in the "Guiness Book of Records." In China it is just the reverse; not only are all counter-revolutionary propaganda and works of pornography prohibited by law. but such things as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, profiting by other people's toil, profiting from one's own high position, taking more than one's share, being slack in work, undermining discipline, maltreating relatives and failing to support old people are not tolerated by socialist political ideology and standards of morality and when they are serious, they are punished according to law.

Quite clearly, socialist laws are employed to regulate people and the relations between people in a socialist society. One important aspect of building a socialist spiritual civilization is to elevate the spiritual realm of each member of society and to establish and develop throughout society a new type of social relations that give expression to a socialist spiritual civilization, to create unity within the nation between every nationality, between workers, peasants and intellectuals, between the cadres and the masses and between the army and the people and the army and the government, that they may help each other in a friendly fashion, be dedicated heart and soul to the same cause and go forward together. This new type of relations must be systematized and legalized, to allow them to consolidate and develop further. The legal standards for regulating this new type of relations will be a major achievement of building a socialist spiritual civilization. The development of the socialist new type of relations between people will provide an ideological guarantee for the observation of the socialist legal system. This all illustrates the mutual penetration and promotion in the building of a socialist legal system and the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system.

2. In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang made the general statement that the communist ideology at the core of a socialist spiritual civilization is one of the significant characteristics of socialism and emphatically pointed out that "without this spiritual civilization, socialism could not be established." "We absolutely cannot permit any policy or work to hinder, much less destroy, the building of a socialist spiritual civilization."

There are many means to guarantee the building of a spiritual civilization, and the law is a significant means among them. Because the law is the will of the ruling class raised to a national will, it is a compulsory, universal social standard. In particular, socialist law embodies the will of the working class leadership of the masses and is determined by the legislative bodies of the people's democratic dictatorship, under the guidance of Marxism, which not only has tremendous power and sanctity, but interpenetrates with and is promoted by socialist spiritual civilization. Practice demonstrates that building a socialist spiritual civilization must be given a guarantee by the socialist legal system; if not, it cannot progress smoothly and healthily, but may even suffer the dangers of destruction and stagnation. After the liberation of the entire country and before the mid-60's, even though there were all kinds of disruptions and influences, generally speaking, the CPC and the nation still paid considerable attention to building the cultural aspects of a spiritual civilization. But because complete legal guarantees were lacking, the achievements of civilization suffered tremendous destruction during the catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution. This was an important lesson. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, things have been put to rights, and the focus of party work has shifted to the socialist modernization drive, which has allowed a suitable development in civilization building at the same time and focused attention on using the law as a guarantee. The 1981 revised draft constitution originally had only one article that summarized this area, but after being discussed by the people, the legislative bodies made it more substantial in content and listed education, culture, science, hygiene and physical education in separate articles, in accord with the will of the people. Building the ideological side of a socialist spiritual civilization cannot be divorced from the guarantees of a socialist legal system either. This is because at the present stage although the exploiting classes in China have already been eradicated, serious remnants of exploiting class ideology still exist. From this all manner of disgusting phenomena were created, some of which were of an illegal nature. Among these, some serious crimes were manifestations of a particular form of class struggle, which must be punished according to socialist law, in order to guarantee the smooth progression of ideology building. The 24th article of the new constitution stipulates that "the nation will undergo universal education in ideals, morality, culture, discipline and legality and among the masses in every city and the countryside there will be formulated and implemented regulations and conventions to strengthen the building of a socialist spiritual civilization." The aim of this is to allow all the people to become idealistic, moral, cultured, lawabiding people, thus establishing new moral habits in society and creating a revolutionary and vital mental outlook in the Chinese nation.

To make the socialist legal system into a major guarantee of building a spiritual civilization, we must pay great attention to uniting closely every link between building the legal system and building a spiritual civilization. It should be pointed out that this problem has still failed to draw adequate attention everywhere. Education on the legal system is still not universal and many are "blind to the law." What particularly merits attention is that today there are a rather large number of the masses and members of the party, including some responsible cadres, who have not adequately understood the

importance of building the legal system. In some law enforcement agencies, the phenomena of not dealing with things in accord with the law, not enforcing the law strictly and not investigating crimes still exist. Therefore, to change this situation firmly and effectively, in order to guarantee and promote the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, is not only necessary, but urgent.

We must first strengthen legislation on science and technology and culture. At present, we already have patent laws, which give legal protection to scientific inventions. The implementation of China's foodstuff sanitation laws are a legal guarantee of the hygiene of the food people eat, and the enactment of the cultural relics protection laws safeguards the nation's rich cultural treasures. However, generally speaking, the legislation in these areas is rather weak and is not entirely suited to the needs of cultural development. We should also formulate laws on education, to guarantee that state funds for the development of education are not arbitrarily diverted or seized, and that teachers' and students' study materials and orders not be disturbed or destroyed, so that such phenomena as insulting and cursing teachers or breaking students with corporal punishment, as well as engaging in fraud on tests and using backdoor influence to get into schools of a higher grade, will be prevented by law. Formulating laws on the news guarantees the people retaliation against the bureaucratism exposed in the press and all unhealthy tendencies that have not been attacked, while at the same time preventing the confusion of irresponsible and distorted false news with the genuine thing and spreading falsehoods. Formulating publishing laws will provide legal protection for the right to publish literary, artistic and scientific works, so that acts of plagarism and lifting the achievements of others and reprinting and selling other people's works at will could be investigated under the law, thereby guaranteeing the prosperity and healthy development of literature, art and science. While strengthening and amplifying legislation on culture and science and technology, we should also strengthen and amplify economic legislation. This is because economic legislation is required not only to guarantee the building of material civilization, but also to guarantee building a spiritual civilization.

Secondly, we should enforce the law strictly and impartially and conscientiously abide by the law. "Not following laws enough would be like being on one's own." Those in public security, inspection and judicial work have a particularly important direct responsibility in implementing socialist laws, for they must take a firm proletarian stand, make the interests of the people their highest principle, public-spiritedly and faithfully uphold the principle of "taking facts as a foundation and laws as criteria," and handle things in accord with the law, without injustice or indulgence. When we say that law enforcement should be strict, one aspect of this is investigating the legal responsibility of all criminal activities and meting out punishments; the other aspect is that those who enforce the law must handle things impartially and in strict accordance with the law, without abusing their power. During his life, when Premier Zhou gave guidance to people's traffic policemen on dissuading or stopping violations of traffic regulations, he said they should first salute, which was civilized law enforcement behavior. Not only should they not adopt

an overly rude manner with ordinary illegal behavior among the people, but neither should they curse or insult the dignity of criminals, much less allow somebody to be subjected to the third degree. There is one basic difference between the implementation of socialist laws and exploiting class laws, which is that the former not only relies on the coercive power of the state, but should also educate the broad masses of the people to conscientiously observe This requires that the people constantly raise their sense of mastery and responsibility toward the state, the society and other areas, and conscientiously carry out their own responsibilities. Since antiquity, China has had a tradition of mediating quarrels among the people. When quarrels and contradictions occurred between people, it was not often easy to appeal them to the local authorities, so they were mediated through relatives, friends or neighbors, who stopped the argument. After liberation, all locales gradually established a people's mediation system. From citings to rural villages, from streets to enterprise units, mediation groups were set up universally, where mediation was carried out in accord with the law. According to the statistics, 10 million arguments of all types were mediated per year. The spread of mediation was established on the foundation of the masses' conscientious observation of the constitution and the laws. The masses' conscientious observation of the law reduces illegal incidents, improves the social order, promotes stability and unity and is in itself a manifestation of the civilization and progress of the entire nation.

Once again, we should work hard to develop propaganda and education on the socialist legal system. As stated above, propaganda and education on the socialist legal system is in itself a component of building a socialist spiritual civilization. Strengthening the sense of legality of every member of society in China means a raise in their consciousness of socialist ideology, which benefits the building of a spiritual civilization. Because of this, in his report to the 12th Party Congress, when Comrade Hu Yaobang discussed constructing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, he pointed out that "we must repeatedly carry out propaganda and education on the legal system among all the people. Starting in the elementary schools, courses on the legal system should be set up in schools at all levels, and we should work hard to see that every citizen understands and observes the law. In particular. we should educate and supervise the broad masses of party members in taking the lead in observing the constitution and the laws." Moreover, propaganda and education on the legal system should draw support from certain aspects of spiritual civilization and certain facilities for spiritual civilization activities, such as literature, art, broadcasting, television, book publishing, newspaper and periodical publishing and so on. The more these enterprises develop, the more universal will be education and propaganda on the legal system. On 6 April of this year, Comrade Peng Zhen held an informal discussion with the press in the capitol on strengthening propaganda on the legal system, where he pointed out that we should handle things in accord with the law and not leave propaganda work out; in particular, we should make the laws widely known, and comrades in the news service, newspaper publication, broadcasting station and publishing departments should work hard to see that people know the law, understand and obey it. We expect the comrades in these departments to do good work in propaganda on the legal system.

Getting a firm grip on legislation, observance of the law, enforcement of the law and education on the legal system and strengthening and consolidating China's socialist legal system will vigorously guarantee and promote the building of a socialist spiritual civilization.

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NIE RONGZHEN REMINISCES ABOUT ZUNYI MEETING

Beijing MEMOIRS OF NIE RONGZHEN in Chinese 1983 pp 241-249

[Excerpt from Memoirs by Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]: "The Background of Zunyi Meeting and Its Aftermath"]

[Text] After crossing the Xiangjiang River, I stayed with an ordinary Zhuang family. My feet began to fester and were operated on by the above-mentioned doctor nicknamed Da Bushi. When the troops hit the road again, I had to be carried on a stretcher, a burden for an army which was constantly engaged in battle. So now and then I joined the column of the Central Military Commission.

Lying on a stretcher gave me ample opportunity to think. It was obvious that since Wang Ming [3769 2494] was catapulted to the highest position on the Central Committee since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 6th Central Committee in January 1931, his line had been on the ascendancy. I got to know him as early as the great revolutionary period in Wuhan when he was translating for Pavel Mif, the Comintern delegate. Arrogant, dogmatic and given to exaggerations, he aroused my loathing even then but it took me some time to understand his line. From the White Zone to the central base area, the more I mingled with the masses and delved into realities, the more I came to believe that the line pushed by Wang Ming and his likes was mistaken. I was firmly convinced that if only Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas prevailed, the revolution would have a bright future. On the other hand, if Wang Ming's line gained the upper hand, it would be a setback for the revolution and a disaster for the Red Army and the masses in the base area. The facts were there for all to see. Efforts by the central base area to outmaneuver the first three "extermination campaigns" were successful, the Red Army won battle after battle and our base area was able to make considerable progress. Relying on Comrade Mao Zedong's strategy, we still managed to deal a heavy blow to the fourth "extermination campaign." Things went wrong, however, the fifth time around. It is true that there had been drastic changes on the enemy's side, but the basic issue remained one of leadership and line. In early 1933, the Provisional Central Committee moved from Shanghai to the central base area. After the military adviser, Li De [2621 1795], arrived in the base area in September the same year, all guiding areas and strategic policies went awry and became overly "left" and very unrealistic. Particularly following the Fifth Plenary Session of the 6th Central Committee, Wang Ming's "left" line reigned supreme in the central base area and Comrade Mao Zedong had almost lost his say in the Central Committee.

"Left" adventurists even made the absurd claim that our campaign against the fifth "extermination campaign" was a "struggle to ensure the total victory of the Chinese revolution." Their meddlings had taken a heavy toll on the Red Army which was reduced to a little over 30,000 men after crossing the Xiangjiang River. All this made me anxious and uneasy. Lying on the stretcher, I racked my brains trying to fathom out why we could not make Comrade Mao Zedong our leader. The Liping conference has ushered in a change in our army's strategic direction: never again would we plunge headlong into the trap set by the enemy. But as long as the question of leadership remained unresolved, our troops could not completely change their position from passive to active. Far from being my own personal reflections only, these ideas also crossed the mind of the broad ranks of Red Army commanders at the time. They were now on the agenda of the Chinese revolution. I later learned that the Politburo meeting in Liping had already decided to convene an enlarged meeting at an appropriate time to iron out the differences within the party. This decision was a reaction to the ceaseless struggle by Comrade Mao Zedong against the erroneous ways of Comrades Li De and Bo Gu [0590 0657]. The enlarged meeting was expected to review the decisions taken at the Liping conference and sum up the experience and lessons in military command we had learned from the fifth "extermination campaign" and the Long March.

Also confined to a stretcher then was Comrade Wang Jiaxiang [3769 4471 4382] (director of the General Political Department), who was injured in an air bombing after the fourth "extermination campaign." After much discussion, we came to the conclusion that Li De and Bo Gu were incompetent, as facts had shown, and that there must be a change in leadership. Comrade Wang Jiaxiang suggested that Mao Zedong should come out and lead the party. I agreed and told him I ahd the same idea. But only a high level conference could settle this question.

In early January 1935, our troops crossed Wujiang River and fought their way to Zunyi, creating a favorable condition for the convening of the anticipated conference. The 6th Regiment of the 2nd Division was put in charge of storming the city. After crossing the Wujiang River, the commander of the 6th Regiment, Zhu Shuiqiu [2612 3055 4428] and its acting political commissar, Wang Jicheng [3769 7162 2052], accepted the task of attacking and seizing Zunyi. When they were all ready for action, Liu Bocheng [0491 0130 2110], chief of general staff, rushed to them and said to the cadres, "These are tough times for us. On the one hand, we fight to win. On the other hand, we must minimize our casualties and save bullets. What we should do is to use our heads more." As it turned out, the assault on Zunyi did become a battle of wits.

On 6 January, the 6th Regiment was only half a day's trip from Zunyi when a scount reported the presence of an enemy outpost 30 li from Zunyi. Comrade Liu Bocheng instructed the regiment to annihilate this horde of enemy soldiers first, adding that the mission must be perfectly executed or else the attack on Zunyi would be jeopardized. At 3 p.m. the same day, braving rain and with the suddenness of a thunderbolt, the 1st Battalion of the 6th Regiment fell on the enemy and totally wiped them out in a brilliant blitz. Work began at once to win over the captured soldiers. Under the leadership of the commander of the 1st Battalion, Ceng Baotang [2582 1405 1016], and with their captives showing the way, a scouting force set out for Zunyi. They were all dressed in

clothes taken from their captives and disguised as the enemy. The idea was to fool the enemy into opening the city gate but failing that, our troops were prepared to take the city by force. As it happened, the enemy really mistook our unit as their men retreating from their outpost. On 7 January, the 2nd Division entered Zunyi, having won it by strategy.

I followed the 2nd Division into the city soon afterwards. Zunyi was the prefecture where the capital of north Guizhou was located and the second largest city in that province. A collection and distribution center for a variety of local products and a gathering spot for merchants and travelers of the Han, Miao and Li nationalities, the city was doing a brisk trade. It had both new and old sections and was bisected by a river. Zunyi was the first prosperous medium-sized city the Red Army saw since the Long March began.

When chief of general staff Liu Bocheng and I set foot on the city, we saw that the 2nd Division was about to take up quarters. That wouldn't do! The Military Commission had ordered us to take advantage of our victory to pursue and attack the three regiments of our Guizhou enemy which had escaped through the north gate. There could be no rest until we captured Loushanguan and Tongzi. In other words, we still had an arduous task ahead. The 6th Regiment had had an exhausting time the day before but that was not the case for the 4th Regiment, the main force of the 2nd Division. After discussing with the leaders of the division, we decided that the 4th Regiment should be the advance pursuit party.

When chief of general staff Liu Bocheng explained to the 4th Regiment its duty and ordered it to set out at once to occupy Loushanguan and Tongzi, the men readily agreed. But their expressions were less than enthusiastic, and understandably so; no sooner had they got to Zunyi than they had to set out again. Political ideological work was difficult indeed.

I said to the political commissar of the 4th Regiment, "Comrade Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976], as political commissar, you must make it clear to the comrades that since they have an urgent job to do, they must not stay here. It is not possible for them even to have breakfast here. Let them eat field rations on the road. When the mission is accomplished they can then take a good rest."

Both Yang Chengwu and the leader of the regiment, Geng Biao [5105 7374], assured us that they were determined to carry out the mission. Immediately they sounded the bugle call for fall-in and, when the troops assembled, marched off in the direction of Loushanguan, the pass to Sichuan and a place contested by all strategists. On 10 January 1935, as they were nearing Loushanguan, they learned of enemy deployments in the area from eavesdropping on an enemy telephone. Accordingly a unit was sent to storm and capture Loushanguan by launching a flank and rear attack. After taking the pass, they lost no time in clearing the way to Tongzi county town. The units of the first army group were massed near Tongzi for rest and reorganization. It was then that the Young Communist International Division, that is, the 15th Division, gave up its own designation and merged with the first army group. Continuing its advance, the 4th Regiment occupied Niulanguan. On the 14th, they ran into the enemy at Xinzhang and routed two of their regiments. Keeping up the momentum of their victory, they overran Songkan on the 16th.

The units of the central column entered Zunyi on the 9th, with Comrade Liu Bocheng serving concurrently as Zunyi garrison commander. At the instruction of the Military Commission, Lin Biao and I handed over on the 14th the units' day-to-day work to Zuo Quan [1563 2938], the chief of staff, and Zhu Ru [2612 3843], director, so that we could devote our undivided attention to the enlarged Politburo conference. By suddenly changing course and moving towards Zunyi, we succeeded in throwing off our trail in one fell swoop an extermination force of over 100,000 men to the east and south of Wuhan. Although he was still commander-in-chief of the extermination force, He Jian [0149 0256] had already taken off for Changde with 20 regiments to tackle the second and sixth army groups. In Sichuan, Liu Xiang [0491 3276] had deployed his troops along the south bank of the Changjiang River. But he was still assessing his position and was unlikely to make a hasty move. Jiang Jieshi's orders to the Guangdong and Guangxi provincial troops to rush to Zunyi were met with indifference. Since Guizhou was not their turf, these units chose to linger behind at such places as Rongjiang in south Guizhou. The Guizhou enemy was not much of a threat to us; they would collapse with the first exchange of fire. The only relatively motivated units were those under members of Jiang Jieshi's clique, Xue Yue [5641 1471] and Zhou Hunyuan [0719 3268 0337], which, however, were blocked at the south bank of the Wujiang River and could not strike out any time soon. All this provided an excellent opportunity for us to convene the meeting in Zunyi.

There was much intense pre-conference maneuvering. Comrade Mao Zedong personally worked to ensure the central leadership fall in line ideologically. From the beginning, Wang Jiaxiang had seen the light. As I said before, we had been chatting along the way. He and I were at one in our determination to make Comrade Mao Zedong our leader. He attributed his victories in overcoming the second and third "extermination campaigns" to Comrade Mao Zedong's series of strategic principles: lure the enemy in deep, hide our troops, attack suddenly, strike at the weakest enemy first and tackle the strongest last, and deal with them separately. Wang Jiaxiang was also very dissatisfied with both Bo Gu and Li De. In his own words, "We must 'boot' them out at the conference." Comrade Zhou Enlai was a good chief of staff. When the troops were on the road, he often tried to catch some sleep while riding on the stretcher so that he could work on the telegrams as soon as he got to the quarters. From his long practice, he came to realize the correctness of Comrade Mao Zedong's views and approved the idea of Mao Zedong leading the party. The attitudes of Comrades Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang were crucial to the success of the Zunyi conference.

As word went round of an impending conference to settle the question of line, dogmatists and factionalists also stepped up their political work frantically in an attempt to seize the initiative. Both before and during the meeting, Kai Feng [0418 0023], also known as He Kequan [0149 0344 0356], an alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Communist Youth League, repeatedly sought me out and talked to me, which could go on for half a day, asking me to support Bo Gu at the meeting. I firmly rejected him. I later learned that he told Bo Gu I was stubborn.

The conference was held amid a great deal of tension. It was attended by every-body except individual comrades who had to take temporary leave to discharge command duties in the field. My feet had not healed and I was carried to the meeting on a stretcher every day.

Known as the Zunyi Politburo enlarged conference, the meeting lasted three days and was attended by members and alternate members of the Politburo: Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131], Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yun [7115 7185], Bo Gu, Deng Fa [6772 4099] and Kai Feng. Other participants were Liu Bocheng, Li Fuchun [2621 1381 2504], Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Peng Dehuai [1756 1795 2037], Li Zhuoran [2621 0587 3544], Deng Xiaoping, Lin Biao, Li De, with Comrade Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938] as his translator, and myself. The meeting was presided over by Bo Gu, whose line was under investigation at the same time. In his main report, a summary of our actions against the fifth "extermination campaign" he emphasized again the objective factors why the "extermination campaign" could not have been crushed. The supplementary report was made by Comrade Zhou Enlai in his capacity as head of the Military Commission.

Most people at the meeting reserved their critical fire for Wang Ming's early "Left" adventurism, his latter "Right" conservatism, and his rroneous military strategy during the Long March when he passively tried to avoid military combat and was only concerned with fighting his way to Hunan. Another main target was Bo Gu, agent for the Wang Ming line on the Central Committee. All this was clearly stated in the resolutions of the Zunyi conference. Comrade Mao Zedong was the first person to speak out against them, closely followed and supported by Wang Jiaxiang. This was the reason why Comrade Mao Zedong said, during the "cultural revolution," that Wang Jiaxiang cast a "key vote" at the Zunyi conference. Most conference participants wanted Comrade Mao Zedong to be the leader. The only opposition came from Bo Gu and Kai Feng. Bo Gu later made a self-criticism but stopped short of completely admitting his mistakes. Wildly arrogant, Kai Feng even said to Comrade Mao Zedong, "What do you know about Marxism-Leninism? You might have read some parts of 'Sunzi on War' at best." He also expressed reservations about the conference. Li De, referred to as Hua Fu [5478 1133] in conference documents, attended as a nonvoting delegate but had no formal seat. Depressed and taciturn, he sat near the door, smoking cigarette after cigarette. But when he did speak in response to conference criticisms, he stubbornly refused to acknowledge his errors. I got angry any moment a participant mentioned Li De's blind command. He arbitrarily intervened in matters in which army group commanders like us normally did not take an interest, such as the positioning of a sentry post or a mortar. Lin Biao, as I recall, did not say much at the conference.

Concerning our future course of action, Comrade Liu Bocheng and I proposed that we fight our way across the Changjiang River to establish a base in north and west Sichuan where conditions were much more favorable. From what we had seen of Guizhou, it was sparsely populated and had too many minority nationalities. Moreover, our total lack of a working foundation here would make the establishment of a base area extremely difficult. In Sichuan, on the other hand, we could depend on reinforcements from base areas in Shaanxi. Second, Sichuan was the richest province in southwest China and densely populated. As long as

we could hold our ground there, we could accomplish much. Third, the absence of convenient means of transportation into Sichuan coupled with the long-standing anti-foreign ideas of local warlords could prevent Jiang Jieshi from penetrating into the area with a large number of men. Our proposal was adopted by the conference. What prevented it from being carried out was the stiff interceptions and attacks by the Sichuan provincial troops and the failure of Zhang Guodao [1728 0948 3614] to follow the instructions of the Central Committee. Instead he decided on his own to give up the base areas in Sichuan and Shaanxi, making it possible for the enemy to concentrate on blocking us from crossing the Changjiang River.

Comrade Mao Zedong was voted a member of the standing committee of the Politburo. After the conference, it was decided that Comrade Luo Fu [3157 4940] replace Bo Gu to take charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. When we set out again, we also created a military leading group comprising Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang to command the troops.

Because we were constantly in a state of military alert, we could communicate news about the Zunyi conference only by telegram or word of mouth initially to cadres above the regiment level. Formal communication had to wait until after we crossed the Chishui River again and recaptured Zunyi. A conference was convened for this purpose in Zunyi by the Central Committee for all cadres above the regiment level. Both Comrades Zhou Enlai and Zhang Wentian addressed the gathering. Whenever someone brought up the past mistaken leadership and the toll it had taken on the revolution, comrades who had suffered from the Wang Ming line became so furious that they banged on tables and chairs. It was in a landlord's courtyard somewhere in Renhuai county that I communicated the message to cadres above the company level. It was a rainy day and Comrade Tan Zheng [6223 2398] even held an umbrella for me. The cadres listened with rapt attention; nobody left to take cover from the rain during the entire session which lasted several hours. All supported the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong.

The Zunyi conference is one of the most significant meetings in our party's history. Not only did it correct the party's misguided military line, paving the way for the total political exposure and criticism of Wang Ming in the future, but it also organizationally transformed the party's leadership. It firmly established Comrade Mao Zedong as the party's and army's leader from then on, putting the Chinese revolution on a correct course. Naturally, the Zunyi conference could deal with the military line issue only because of the critical military situation, shortness of time and the fact that conditions were still premature. But it was a great historic turning point; the beleaguered Chinese revolution had found a savior.

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REMOLDING OF CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE COMPLETED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 2 Nov 84 p 1

[Article: "Tasks of Educating and Remolding the Four Categories of People Successfully Accomplished"]

[Text] This reporter has learned from the public security department that the work of removing the records of the remaining landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and evildoers throughout the country has now come to an end. After the records of the overwhelming majority of the four categories of people were removed in 1979, there were still a total of 79,504 people under these four categories throughout the country. Since last year, the records of 78,327 persons, who accounted for 98.5 percent of the total number of the four categories of people, have also been removed. The 982 people who were wrongly placed in one of the four categories of people have been put right. They accounted for 1.2 percent of the total. The 195 active offenders who are in violation of laws have been arrested or have been sent to undergo education through labor in accordance with the law. Up to this moment, our country has triumphantly accomplished the task of educating and remolding the more than 20 million people of the 4 categories, a task which started with Liberation.

To remove the records of all the remaining elements in the four categories has been an important policy since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and a continuation of the work done in 1979, in which the records of more than 6 million people in the four categories were removed. Party committees and government at all levels have paid the closest attention to this matter and have conscientiously carried out the work. They have gone deep among the grass-roots cadres to spread extensively the party's policy in order to unify ideological understanding. At the same time, they have done a good job of conducting ideological education for people in the four categories and their family members. Party committees and government at all levels have relied on the masses to investigate and catch up on the situations of the four categories of people so as to appraise these people one by one. As for the small number of people who have committed minor offenses, the masses in all places will be relied on to continue conducting guidance education for them after their records have been removed. As for those who are dead, their records have also been removed in some places at

the requests of their family members, provided that they were truly remolded during their lifetimes. Besides, in some areas, files of a small number of people in the four categories whose whereabouts are unknown have been marked for future reference. Records of people in the four categories who have already left the country have also been removed. Their families have been notified and their files have been marked. As it is, the task of educating and remolding the four categories of people has been triumphantly accomplished in our country.

9560

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK IN SCHOOLS STRESSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 6 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Improve and Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Schools"]

[Text] Invigorating the economy, implementing the policy of opening to the outside world and carrying out an educational reform that is geared to the needs of the modernizations, of the world and of the future have placed even great demands on ideological and political work in the schools. In the face of the new situations and tasks, ideological and political work in schools must be conscientiously improved and strengthened. In order to strengthen, it is necessary to improve; otherwise, it will not only be impossible to strengthen, but only half the results will be achieved with twice the effort, or it will even become fruitless. A correct understanding is the most fundamental requirement in improving and strengthening ideological and political work toward yound students.

We must make the content of and the method adopted in the work adapt to the characteristics of the thinking of the young students of the 1980's. Good results cannot be attained unless the work can be carried out accurately, attractively and convincingly.

Young students of different times have different characteristics of thought. In the 1920's, the main characteristic of thought of the young students was a concern about their country and their people. The main problem under their consideration was how to overthrow the three big mountains (imperalism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism) that had lain like a dead weight on their backs. In the 1930's, the Japanese imperialists annexed our territory and massacred our people. Young students at that time felt deeply about the grievances of national subjugation and genocide. Their strongest demand was to "build a new Great Wall with our flesh and blood." In the 1980's, our country has already become a great socialist country that has maintained its independence and kept the initiative in our own hands and we depend on no large nations and will never allow ourselves to be trodden upon by any nation. Young students are satisfied with this and the state has won their wholehearted support. However, since the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, they have seen through these windows that their own motherland is lagging behind in such areas as the

economy and science and technology. They, therefore, have started to develop a strong desire to revitalize China. They are asking to build our country into a powerful socialist country, most prosperous, most civilized and most democratic. They are quick in thinking, bold in exploration and full of creative spirit. This is the main trend and characteristic of the thinking of the young students of our times.

In the new era and for the newly emerged youngsters, there are new tasks and new needs in our ideological and political work. In carrying out ideological work for young students, it is necessary to inspire and treasure their aspirations for reform and to enhance their praiseworthy spirit of learning diligently, pondering daringly and creating the new boldly. In order to understand the world, young students are fond of reading, including non-Marxist-Leninist books. They have also experienced hardships and tests during the calamity of the "great cultural revolution." For this reason, they may ponder many questions, make comparisons or put forward some questionable points, even questions such as whether the Communist Party of China is good or not, whether it can lead the people to vitalize China or whether socialism is superior. It is not advisable for us to regard certain kinds of doubts as heterodoxy. We must dare to let the young students generate and ask questions. If their notions are correct, we adopt theirs. If theirs are incorrect, let them speak out so that we can carry out ideological work with them and help them improve their capability in making a clear distinction between right and wrong. Some people have doubts about the leadership of the Communist Party. We may inspire them to think it over: is there any party which can lead the people to overthrow the "three big mountains and to turn our country into an independent socialist country free from bullying and humiliation by anyone? Only from this viewpoint has it been proven that the Communist Party is far better than the Kuomingtang. A New China is born and the people of China have stood up. We also have steadly replaced exploitative capitalist private ownership with socialist public ownership. This could be accomplished only by the Communist Party. True, the Communist Party of China has committed mistakes; however, it has dared to admit its mistakes openly before the whole world and has tried its best to rectify its mistakes. Consequently, it has achieved tremendous, universally acknowledged successes since the 2d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. What party can accomplish all this? We have to believe that young students in general are able to come to a correct conclusion from facts and comparisons.

We must justly and forcefully adhere to the four basic principles in our ideological and political work. This is what we must observe with meticulous care. However, it is not advisable for us to imbue young students inflexibly with the four basic principles as a dogma without letting them have any different ideas. With regard to certain questions concerning ideological understanding which they may generate in the course of seeking truth, we must resolve them through discussion in an enlightening and democratic manner or, in other words, we must help them straighten out their wrongs. Historical experiences have proven that methods which are compulsory or the practice of sticking labels as one pleases is now by no means permissible. We must know how to present the facts and reason things out.

We must conduct lively and convincing education for youngsters geared to their ideological trends by applying practice and Marxist theories. If there is anyone who cannot straighten his thinking out at one time, we will have to wait. Straightening out one's thinking is a process of interaction. Not only do the youngsters need to be enlightened, but those who have an ossified or conservative way of thinking must also draw fresh things from the correct ideas of youngsters. We must also frankly and sincerely speak out about our shortcomings to young students, let them know the real facts and truth, tell them that all these shortcomings are possible to overcome and express our hope of having their help in overcoming these shortcomings. Only in doing things this way can people straighten out their thinking, be completely convinced and understand thoroughly the fact that, if there were no Communist Party of China armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to serve the people wholeheartedly or if the four basic principles were not adhered to, the revolution would not succeed and it would not be be possible to carry out the construction smoothly.

All in all, with regard to ideological and political work in the schools, it is necessary to develop its content and improve the methods. Only in doing things this way can we correctly and forcefully lead the young students to forge ahead, and enable them to develop in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, and can our schools cultivate more talented people at a quicker pace and of a better quality. The young generation, which is socialist minded, professionally proficient and full of creative spirit, is the future and hope of our party and our country. We must redouble our efforts to bring up a young generation of this kind.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SECONDARY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEGLECTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 25 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Jiao Jian [4255 0256]: "Slow Development of Secondary Vocational Education Leads to Personnel Imbalance"]

[Text] A serious numerical imbalance exists between China's senior and middle level professionals. According to general survey data, the country's 72 ministries, commissions, bureaus and companies have a total of 3.3 million assistant engineers and other professionals in equivalent ranks and above, and only 2.19 million technicians and other professionals in equivalent ranks, which gives us a ratio of 1:0.67. (According to the World Bank, the ratios overseas range from 1:1.3 to 1:10.) Since engineers outnumber technicians many times at numerous Chinese factories and enterprises today, there is no alternative but to treat the engineers as technicians. At one electrical machinery plant, there are only 18 technicians out of a total engineering and technical staff of over 800.

Although we are now seriously short of middle level professionals, secondary vocational education has made only slow progress in recent years. For 6 consecutive years from 1977 to 1983, recruitment plans remained unfulfilled, with the shortfall in student intake reaching 112,000. The growth rate in student recruitment from year to year is not high. In fact, we have yet to equal the record set in the past. We are not paying enough attention to speeding up the development of secondary vocational education and the importance of training middle level experts. In the absence of a concerted effort to develop secondary vocational education, it would be very difficult to stop the waste of senior professionals and the uncoordinated growth of the different levels of our education system.

Existing Leadership, Management Systems Curb Growth

Ever since the People's Republic was founded, secondary vocational education has throughout been managed by vocational departments. In time, this has given rise to a system in which a secondary vocational school is run by a department as its own. The department is totally responsible for operating and managing it and assiging jobs to its graduates. Depending on its needs, the department decides the school layout, professional equipment and the size of student enrollment. It pays for the costs of running the school out

of its own enterprise expenses. Such costs do not form part of the education expenditures. Under these circumstances, little mutual support and assistance can take place between schools in different departments and regions while planning and education departments cannot make comprehensive planning in accordance with social needs.

Low Returns on Education Investments

Existing leadership and management systems mainly produce the following weaknesses:

- 1. Secondary vocational education is too narrowly focused. Most schools are on a very small scale. In any one region, there is an irrational overlapping in professional equipment, resulting in low returns on educational investments. In 1983, a total of 688,000 students were enrolled in 2,929 secondary vocational schools (excluding secondary teachers' colleges) throughout the nation, averaging a mere 310 students per school. At least one-third of the potentials of these schools has not been developed.
- 2. There is a widespread social demand for more professionals in such areas as the third estate and such applied liberal arts subjects as secretarial and library management studies. But these are exactly the areas to which very few departments are willing to commit their money. In the wake of economic structural reforms and the separation of politics from enterprises, secondary vocational education will come under greater pressure to go regional and comprehensive. But since secondary vocational education does not have an independent source of revenue, the separation of politics from enterprises will only intensify its existing management problems.

Existing Policies Need To Be Reformed

At present, the size of student admissions each year is determined by the "iron rice bowl" of the state which assigns every graduate a job, and not by actual social needs.

Although units under the ownership-by-the-whole-people system are short of technical personnel, their establishment is often taken up by non-technical staff. Departments in charge hesitate to recruit more secondary vocational students for fear that when they graduate, there would not be enough jobs to go around. Consequently, it would be hard to increase the level of student recruitment at secondary vocational schools. After the economic system has been reformed, small and medium-sized enterprises would be freed from the restriction imposed by the "big rice bowl". Collective units and the "two kinds of households" in rural areas will both develop an urgent need for expertise and not be affected by authorized establishment limits. In the future, secondary vocational schools can expand their student intake without being held responsible for allocating jobs to their graduates.

As presently constituted, secondary vocational education overlaps with institutions of higher education (including workers and staff universities and short-term vocational universities.) In training goals, professional

curricula and teaching contents, there is little to distinguish the secondary vocational school which offers a 2-year program to a senior high school graduate or a 4-year program to a junior high school graduate from a college or university which offers a 4-year program. On the other hand, a college or university belongs to the sector of higher education; both its status and the starting wage of his graduates are higher than those of a secondary vocational school. This fact has dampened the enthusiasm of secondary vocational students. They find the prospect of enrolling in a secondary vocational school before employment less appealing than finding a job first and then attending a workers and staff univeristy. Schools and departments, too, tend to set their sights higher and prefer operating a university to running a secondary school. Since all these factors affect the development of secondary vocational education, an readjustment in the wage policy is badly needed.

12581

# VISIT TO OLD PEOPLE'S HOME REPORTED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 22, 25 Nov 84, pp 46-47

[Article by Sun Hongxiang [1327 3163 4382]: "An Entirely New Sort of Old People's Home"]

[Text] One day, I rode a bicycle to the Tairi Township old people's home in Fengxian County, Shanghai Municipality. As I entered, these lonely old people who have experienced the hardships of life were just eating lunch.

"Let's eat first!" Yu Jiren [5713 0679 0088], the head of the old people's home, who is over 60 years old, greeted me warmly after he understood my reason for coming.

Not 5 minutes later, a big bowl of lean meat and potatoes braised in soy sauce and a bowl of broad bean and bean curd soup was set before us.

"Hey, no need to stand on ceremony!" Getting this kind of special treatment made me feel ill at ease.

"Oh, we're not giving you a special mess. Today we are all eating this dish, one share per person." The head of the old people's home smiled as he spoke.

I came to understand that each old person at the old people's home may eat approximately 30 yuan worth of food every month. To employ their own words, they say, "we have fish or meat every day, and frequently we get soup dumplings and meat pies."

This puzzled me. Before coming, Mr Yan of the township government told me that this old people's home was about the same as the others in the suburban counties and that living expenses for each person were only 18 yuan per month.

After lunch, the head of the old people's home accompanied me on a look around. He introduced me to the place:

"This is our pig sty. We send three pigs to market in a year."

"This is our chicken coop. This year we raised 100 chickens and after they got big, we ate a small number of them ourselves and sold the rest to the state."

"This is our rabbit warren, where we raise approximately 50 rabbits. We receive 20 yuan per year for each rabbit."

In an instant, we arrived at the old people's home's plantation. Looking at the garden, all kinds of vegetables made a feast for the eyes, overflowing with vigor. Red tomatoes and green kidney beans hung luxuriantly from trellises, sweet peppers like lanterns and eggplants like eels were thickly settled on their branches, and in a shallow pool were lush, green wild rice stems like long swords. I figured roughly that with more than 2 mu of land and 14 or 15 different crops planted in one season, nearly everything seen in the vegetable market in the city could be seen here. Amid a clump of green leaves was a melon patch. The head of the old people's home explained: "This melon patch produces around 50 jin of watermelons and more than 100 jin of muskmelons for each old person to eat in one summer. We want to let them eat more fruit, you see --"

I looked to where the head of the old people's home was pointing, to an area several meters long beside the road, between the dormitory and the dining hall, where some grapes were planted, their vines covering the trellises, their green leaves obscuring the sky, their blue fruits hanging down. On the grounds of the garden were tangerines, pears and other fruit trees with rich, thick foliage, which will be capable of bearing fruit in a year or two.

All of this before me made me feel quite amazed. In the past, the lives of old people that I had seen in old people's homes were carefree but monotonous. They would sit over a cup of tea, sit around the television set, chat indoors, or rest beneath the shade of a tree. This lifestyle was practically accepted through common practice, and no one would imagine destroying or changing it. However, several of the personnel in charge of running the old people's home decided to fly their own colors and they set up a livestock farm and plantation, purely for the consumption of the old people's home. All of this made me finally understand the mystery of why the old people's standard of living here was higher than at the average old people's home.

Originally, as early as 1958, this township (commune) was running an old people's home, however, because they were in straightened economic circumstances and for other reasons, two years later, it was closed. 1979, following the gradual spread of the rural production responsibility system, the party committee of Tairi Township decided to rebuild the old people's home. That task fell to Yu Jiren and five other comrades. Even though Yu was a skilled hand at management and had brought the commune livestock farm and the farm chemical factory back to life when they had been on the verge of closing, after arriving at the old people's home, he was at his wits' end with the difficulties of making 18 yuan cover clothing, food and shelter for the old people. Two months later, he was over 100 yuan in debt. The old people, because they lacked food and money to spend, had a bellyful of ideas. How to find a way out? From his own feelings and experiences, the head of the old people's home attained enlightenment: people accustomed to physical labor refuse to stay idle. After he consulted with the other personnel, they decided to do away with the out-moded ways of running an old people's home and change what was purely for consumption into production, to use their

own surplus energy to bring benefit to themselves and to the people. This mode of thinking received the arden endorsement of the old people and the support of the commune party committee.

This is really something to think deeply about! In the past, people always thought that so long as old people were supported and not allowed to go hungry or get cold, this was the best way to care for old people and that the old people must surely be perfectly content. Now, everything here provides people with a new answer to the problem of how to let rural old people really enjoy their old age.

12534

ROLE OF SOCIALIST LAWYERS DESCRIBED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 14 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Bao Guo [0202 0948], Wen Wei [2429 5588] and Shu Ping [2579 1627]: "The Standpoint of Lawyers"]

[Text] Not long ago, when the people's court of a certain county instituted proceedings against a law offender, the court simply did not give a seat to the lawyer. Some judicial officers said: "If he wants to sit, he should sit with the accused." Another court, in a not uncommon way, made a neverbefore "judgment" by kicking the lawyer out of the court.

These are not jokes but facts. Certain people (including certain judicial officers) harbor a prejudice against lawyers defending the accused, and even unreasonably obstruct them. This is not an incidental phenomenon. We have repeatedly heard that defending lawyers meet with the overbearing question: "What is your standpoint?" The questioner actually brought up a very serious issue. Unfortunately, he did not truly intend to conduct a conscientious exploration and was using a special questioning sentence to express his anger or threat. We are very familiar with this kind of special questioning sentence, which was murderously rampant during the "cultural revolution" period, and a questioning statement like that was able to put a person to death. Although today it is almost a joke, it has not vanished completely and has pointed out to the people a grave fact—that there are still people who hold fast to the obsolete ideology and custom of not understanding or not wanting to understand lawyers.

The acts of a lawyer to defend the defendant in court are the employment of his own rights and duties in accordance with the proceedings prescribed by law to defend the legitimate rights of the defendant based on facts and the law. Therefore, from the viewpoint of either form or substance, the defense work by lawyers is for the purpose of upholding the socialist legal system and protecting socialist democracy. This is the standpoint of lawyers. Up to here, we may ask those people harassing the lawyers who are legitimately carrying out their duties: what is your standpoint?

However, we truly do not want to inherit the workstyle bequeathed by "the cultural revolution" in indiscriminatingly giving people labels. We only hope that certain people would change the way they think, conscientiously study and meditate and know how to respect and support the work of lawyers.

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#### WARNING AGAINST WASTE OF TALENTED PEOPLE ISSUED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Wu Mingfei [6762 7686 7378]: "Shanghai Should Be Vigilant About the New Waste of Talent"]

[Text] In August of this year, the Shanghai Organic Chemistry Research Institute of Academia Sinica had an advertisement in the newspapers: "Our institute is recruiting 20 junior science and technology officers. Applicants who pass oral, written and physical examinations will be awarded a 2-year contract."

The institute did not use the terms "high salary" or "good renumeration" as attractions, yet unexpectedly within 3 days more than 200 people applied, and nearly all the applicants were college and middle vocational school graduates who had started working within the last few years. Why were they willing to give up their "unbreakable rice bowl" to accept the "breakable rice bowl" of a 2-year "employment" contract?

According to the understanding of this reporter, the reason for their giving up the "unbreakable" in favor of the "breakable" was because they were not assigned to the right job or were not given the opportunity to make use of their specialties in their parent units.

In some of the units in Shanghai are often heard the following comments: the youths from universities and middle vocational schools have no opportunity to make use of their specialties in this unit; those specialized in electronics are assigned to work with mechanical processing technology, those specialized in a foreign language are assigned to answer telephones and there are even cases of graduates specialized in computer software being assigned to take care of reference materials in library reading rooms. This kind of hectic arrangement has made graduates unable to cry or laugh. A college graduate in automation control, after having been assigned to a plant in Shanghai, was told to do electric welding. Since he knew nothing of welding, he would have had to start learning anew if he accepted the job, and he would have felt guilty of betraying the cultivation of the party if he did not. Sorrowfully, this youth commented: "It is most painful for one to waste all he has painstakingly learned for 10 years.

This question is especially salient among the graduates of the Television University, Spare-time University, Employees University, Night University and Correspondence University (abbreviated as "Wu Ta") in Shanghai. According to statistics, Wu Ta have trained more than 30,000 graduates since 1979, and a quarter of them were not properly assigned work. The Shanghai Science and Technology Development Center, within 20 days, received more than 580 Wu Ta graduates, which was 41.5 percent of the total number of people received.

The regrettable thing is that up to the present, some grassroots-level units still block the movement of talented people by adopting the attitude of "not giving you work nor letting you go" against the graduates who have not been assigned the right job. They think that "under any circumstance keeping a university student is after all better than keeping a youth worker" and is the "same as maintaining an army for 1,000 days to be used for an hour, because they will be used in the future though not at the present." A university graduate in pharmacy, when assigned to the wholesale-fowl department in Shanghai to handle the leftovers after processing the fowls, repeatedly asked for a job transfer. His leadership advised: "You should learn from Lu Xun and Guo Moruo. They started their careers in medicine but later changes their professions to become authors and made equally big contributions. Although your knowledge on pharmacy is not used, your basic knowledge is still of some use!"

There are also situations where the grassroots-level unit is willing to let go, yet the superior component does not. Some plant chiefs state that letting a university graduate leave will meet the reprimands of superior components: "Since you do not want to keep the talent assigned you, you will not get any next year." Therefore, the plant chief knowingly does not let the talented person leave, even though keeping him is a waste.

The bureaucratic style of work and the shortcomings in the personnel system have "stifled" many university and middle vocational school graduates immediately upon their departure from school doors, after having been trained by the state's investment of much money and manpower. This situation is deplorable!

While there is overstocking and waste in talent on the one hand, there is a shortage of talent on the other. According to the investigation by the components concerned, the percentage of natural science talents in Shanghai has been lowered from the traditional first place to eighth, much behind Beijing and other places. Among them the shortage of talent in the age bracket between 25 and 35 is most acute, having thus appeared the "fault" in the age structure of talent.

The key to Shanghai's revitalization is the talented people. Many people in the know believe that against Shanghai's thirst for talent the most urgent thing is to value the talent it now has, to the end that every talent is used to its best. Since this year, the components concerned in the municipal government have repeatedly stressed that university and

middle vocational school graduates should be assigned the jobs that are geared to their training. Unfortunately, according to the observation of this reporter, some units still lack the sense of responsibility and the urgency that they should have. It seems that mere oral instructions or the issuing of documents is not enough, and we should devote energy, investigate the units one by one and grasp the work level by level. If the leadership cadres do not have a sense of respecting and treasuring talents, they will not take drastic measures, and this problem will not get solved.

## IDEOLOGICAL EXTREMISM DISCUSSED

Shanghai QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 16 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Li Fang [2621 2397] of a certain middle school in Shanghai: "Is My Ideology Radical?"]

[Text] Editor's note: This is an article written by Li Fang in his school's exercise book. He frankly revealed his ideology and asked his teachers and fellow students for help. In truth, how should we view our ideological education work? What is the goal of promoting independent thinking? How should we treat social ills? It is hoped that students will discuss the above questions with their own views in conjunction with the facts.

Our school launched a book review on a controversial book some time ago. I wrote my critique, talked of my personal views and stated my heartfelt feelings from personal thinking. I did not blindly obey.

I think that "leftist" ideological education has already become a habit, meaning that no matter if a person really understands, this education has already been a decided and irrevocable concept for people to believe in and comply with, while the independent thinking of individuals is seldom promoted. Some people even take this as a lofty sentiment. Whoever is able to recite more, and more completely, is considered to have a high political consciousness and is accorded benefits. For a long time I did not know if our workers in ideological education were aware that many children were still reciting without comprehending the contents. The situation was similar with that book review—the opinions were one—sided, mostly identical with the conclusions published in newspapers. Is this situation normal? Some people did not know the cause, and the other people who did concealed their true thinking.

Well, I might have been naive. People say that before thoroughly knowing an issue, it is best to observe carefully and then slowly express one's personal opinions. I probably have not yet done good observation work. However, I feel that it is good and I should not be afraid to express what I have subjectively thought, to the end that it can be known in a timely manner to the others and can be rectified by the truth, so that we do not have to walk on unnecessarily tortuous paths. Why should we be afraid?

A good friend told me that I was naive in having the idea of writing this kind of article. She seemed correct. "Practical is reasonable, and reasonable is practical." This motto is especially suitable in this piece of Chinese territory, which has a feudal history lasting thousands of years. Many people do not want to play deaf and dumb in life and speedily perceive the good and bad sides of the society, but "give in and retreat" as soon as their vulnerable point is touched, because, according to the "reasonable" way of saying, overrating oneself to resist the overwhelming foe is certainly naive.

On the other hand, the truth, no matter how temporarily suppressed by the realities, and even to the extent of being distorted out of shape, remains the truth. While not being subservient to the realities is naive, not obeying the truth is even more superficial and naive.

Does China have a dark side? Yes, the leadership comrades of the CPC Central Committee have pointed out that many ills exist in China's society and economic setup. The point is, what should be done?

I do not want to avoid talking of these ills in my article. If a person does not have the courage to know the world, how can he talk of reforming it? I am willing to pay the price of knowing the world because I am unwilling to see our country prolongedly inferior to others.

I also asked my teacher if my way of thinking is "rightist." He answered: "Is it 'rightist' to say what one actually thinks? In that case I speak the truth and would rather read this kind of article that reflects a person's true feeling than read a whimsically leftist one." I thanked him.

# SHANGHAI'S HIGHER EDUCATION IN PERSPECTIVE

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 17 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Gui Shichang [2710 0013]: "Higher Education in Shanghai Should Be 'One Step Earlier and One Level Higher'"]

[Text] During the recently summoned Shanghai City Conference of Party Committee Secretaries and Principals of Schools of Higher Learning, the responsible comrades concerned of the Shanghai municipal CPC committee pointed out that in accordance with the requirements of the leadership comrades of the CPC central committee Shanghai should become the important base and vanguard in the four modernizations construction, and should be one step earlier and one level higher than the rest of the country, and that the overall goal of Shanghai's higher education and talent cultivation should correspondingly be one step earlier and one level higher.

According to initial plans, the scope in the development of Shanghai's higher education in 1990 should be double that of 1980, and the number of students in school (including researchers and regular and specialized students) and of students of adult education in schools should increase once and 2.6 times, respectively.

The conference noted that to realize the above overall goal, the following tasks should be well grasped: one is the further adjustment of the level structure and the branch ratio in training high- and medium-grade talents. Old universities should aim at establishing multi-form training bases for the society and expand their recruitment of in-service research students. and to train contract research students for large and medium-size enterprises, they should select outstanding engineering, technical and economic management personnel to take advanced courses and work for master's or doctor's degrees in schools of higher learning and raise their abilities in scientific research and exploration. The second task is that simultaneous with their operation of ordinary full-time day courses, the schools of higher learning should positively recruit more specialized students. The third is the energetic development of the specialties in shortage and that are needed by the third industry, thus, special measures adopted for certain kinds of apecialsits. The fourth is that to bring into full play the role of affiliated institutes and schools, key

universities may be appointed to train the urgently needed specialists for localities. The fifth is that full-time universities should positively develop adult education and pay attention to training talents for the rural areas. At present, all schools of higher learning should pay special attention to grasping well the three constructions which have an important strategic meaning—teacher construction, academic course construction and basic construction.

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CSO: 4005/325

BUILDING OF THIRD-ECHELON CADRES DESCRIBED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 85 p 4

[Article: "Shandong Provincial CPC Committee Has Firmly Grasped the Construction Work of Third-echelon Cadres"]

[Text] Shandong provincial CPC committee has adopted measures that suit individuals for cultivating the cadres of the third echelon and for preparing the talent needed for adjusting the leadership body.

After July 1984, after conscientious observation and painstaking screening, Shandong Province selected a total of 5,896 third-echelon cadres, among whom 34 were at the provincial level, 437 at the local, municipal, department and bureau levels and 5,425 at the county level. Their ages were, respectively, under 45, 40 and 35 years, and more than 90 percent of them have an educational background above that of university. These people are young in age, high in education and good in quality but still have shortcomings: some of them have worked in an organ for a long time and lack the experience of basic-stratum leadership; others have been in specialized work for a long time and lack leadership experience; still others have worked in the basic stratum for a long time and lack the experience of handling the overall situation.

For the speedier growth of the third-echelon cadres, the Shandong provincial CPC committee, based on the principle of making up whatever is deficient, adopted all practical cultivation measures; for instance, in the case of the provincial and local levels, cadres who have worked for a long time in the office were assigned to practical work, 4 of them have gone to work at the basic level and 56 have participated in the party rectification squads of provincial and locality levels. Those cadres who have worked for a long time in specialized technical work were assigned at different times to different groups to advanced training in the Central Party School and schools of higher learning concerned, 53 are now in such schools. Those cadres currently in leadership posts were given new assignments as the situation warranted, 7 of them have become the members of local, municipal and department (bureau) levels and 14 have been promoted to local department leadership posts from the county level. Those reserve cadres who have worked for a long time at the basic level were given the opportunity of leadership work, and three have been transferred to perform leadership work in the department and bureaus.

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NOTES ON VISIT TO SHENZHEN UNIVERSITY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Ai Feng [5337 6265]: "To Cultivate Talent--Not Sticking Only to One Pattern"]

[Text] Someone humorously said: "If everyone in the office is a professor, they might not even have plain water to share." The rationale is that one unit needs not only senior talented people but also medium-grade and junior-grade talents. Only if the ratio of various talents is adequate, will the organ be highly efficient and beneficial.

Shenzhen University is based on the various needs of society in considering its educational quality and lecturing. Prof Luo Yuanxiang [5012 6678 4382], who is in charge of educational reform and who started teaching university before the Emancipation, has been in contact with all "kinds" of education. He definitely stated: "We cannot depart from the needs of society and conduct isolated talk of the quality of education. In meeting the needs of all quarters, we have to cultivate all kinds of talent. We cannot make a clean break and have only one variety."

They tie this idea to each link of school work.

Should entrance to the university be wide or narrow? Due to various reasons, and viewed from the situation in the entire country, the entrance to universities, as described by some people, is like "thousands of soldiers and many horses fighting to cross a single log bridge." Yet the exit is considerably wide. Once a person passes the university entrance examination, the situation is equivalent to being issued "an unbreakable rice bowl," meaning that "his whole life hinges on this examination."

Shenzhen University is different. It is in favor of relaxing the entrance and tightening the exit. At present, Shenzhen University has three kinds of students; the first are the ordinary students who are admitted through the uniform university entrance examination a total of 700; the second kind are part-time students, a total of 600; and the third kind are students of training classes which train thousands of people every year. Some of the specialized students were admitted via the entrance examination, and others were the current year's high school graduates who failed the university

entrance examination and then were admitted to study in Shenzhen University. The entrance procedure for joining various training classes is even simple. The boundary lines separating the three kinds of students are not uncrossable; specialized students, if in possession of definite qualifications, may transfer to be ordinary students, and ordinary students, after having studied for some time, may be transferred to be specialized students if they have the proper excuse.

How many years does it take a student to graduate from Shenzhen University? They answered: "3 to 7 years." Actually, a credit system has been implemented in Shenzhen University, and the notion of school semesters is thus slighted. A student may graduate, regardless of the number of school semesters he has spent in his studies, as soon as he accumulates the required number of academic credits. The proportion of elected courses is rather high and is approximately 25 percent.

This kind of tutoring system is more beneficial to the multi-variety development of students. For example, among students of the same major in Chinese literature, some may stress economic management in selecting his courses, while others may try to raise their own requirements in foreign language and still others may devote more energy in grasping computer techniques. In this way they will be able to meet the needs of various kinds of jobs. The university also allows some distance in the pace of progress in learning and in academic standards; the difference of students in wisdom and efforts is recognized so that they are not forced unnecessarily to advance at the same pace.

Against the problems thus brought along, they gave the following answers:

How could the academic quality be assured? The exit is narrow although the entrance is wide. No allowance will be made for graduation to those not having sufficient academic credits.

Will the elimination ratio become higher? Yes, but to learn is better than not to learn at all. Certificates on completing single courses have been issued. Students are permitted to accumulate them within a certain number of years and let them graduate upon possessing the required total number of credits.

Will this bring difficulty to tutoring? Yes, this brings about new requirements in tutoring work and the courses to be taught. An additional solution is required in this regard.

In one of the educational reform meetings of Shenzhen University, someone suggested a loud slogan similar to "Qinghua University is the cradle of engineers." No conclusion was reached after much debate. First Deputy Chancellor Luo Zhengji [5012 1767 0796] thought of "going the other way." He maintained that Shenzhen University beyond doubt should cultivate a batch of industrialists but may also produce scholars and professors. "Bookworms," okay, activists, also okay. The slogan may be brought up in another way, for the characteristics of Shenzhen University in cultivating students are: a realistic approach, independence, opening up and variety.

This way, Shenzhen University naturally needs to be perfected. I, however, feel that they have achieved a breakthrough in the idea of education: since we recognize the needs of society at many levels and with many varities of talents, and that each of the students possess different qualifications and conditions, why cannot the structure of university studies be more flexible and varied?

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cso: 4005/401

#### MILITARY UNITS TAKE PART IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Chengdu Military Region

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Zhang Yuanshu [1728 0337 2885]: "Party Rectification Successfully Concluded in Chengdu Military Region"]

[Text] After 13 months, party rectification has been completed in the CPC committee and party organs of the Chengdu Military Region. On 20th, the regional CPC committee convened a general membership meeting for its organs and directly affiliated military units to sum up their achievements and experience in party rectification and put forward proposals and tasks to consolidate and develop rectification results, adopt a national perspective and open up a new construction phase in the organs and units.

Wan Haifeng [5502 3189 1496], party secretary of the military region, presided over the summing-up conference while Wang Chenghan [3769 6134 3352] deputy secretary, presented a summing-up report on party rectification on behalf of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee. Ceng Quansheng [2582 3123 3932], deputy director of the liaison department of the military region, affirmed the achievements of party rectification in the military region and endorsed the assessment of the first phase of party rectification by the military region.

Party rectification in the Chengdu Military Region, which took 13 months, proceeded smoothly, achieved visible results and has basically met the standards set by the Central Committee and the demands of the Central Military Commission. By seriously implementing the "Decisions of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" and instructions and plans issued at various stages by the Central Commission for Guiding Party rectification and the Central Military Commission, the party committee of the region obtained a clear guiding ideology and worked out a stabel policy. The party committee of the region has declared that the conclusion of rectification in the committee and organs does not mean the end of reform and restructuring and certainly does not mean that the task of strengthening party construction is over. A harder task lies ahead next year. We must overcome difficulties, put on a first-rate performance and confront the new reform situation. The achievements of party rectification must be put through the test of practical actions.

## Sichuan Military District

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Wang Jun [3769 6511]: "Party Rectification Begins in Sichuan Military District"]

[Text] Party rectification in the CPC committee and organs in the Sichuan Military District has begun on 17 December. In the morning on that day, the district CPC committee held a party rectification mobilization meeting which emphasized that every party member in the district must take part in party rectification earnestly, seriously and actively; strive to be a qualified member on his own, and seek to fulfill rectification duties in a spirit of reform and with a high standard. Zhang Weiman [1728 4850 3046], political commissar of the military district and secretary of the district party committee, presented a report on party rectification on behalf of the party committee. Zhang Wenqing [1728 2429 3237], commander of the military district and deputy secretary of the party committee, presided over the meeting and addressed the gathering.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY'S POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS URGED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Yan Zhimin [6768 2535 2404]: "Adopt a Correct Attitude Toward Knowledge, Firmly Implement the Party's Policy Toward Intellectuals"]

[Text] The united front work department of the provincial party committee held a forum from 24-29 October in Chengdu on the work concerning intellectuals in certain institutions of higher learning and units of scientific research, in the factories and mines and in enterprises and public agencies. Responsible comrades of the party committee of these units and the relevant departments and comrades of the united front work departments of various municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures participated in the forum. Comrades of the departments concerned at the provincial level, of the various democratic parties at the provincial level and of some mass organizations also were invited to participate in the forum. There were a total of more than 150 participants.

Feng Yuanwei [7458 0337 5588], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the forum. Kang Zhenhuang [1660 2182 7806], lieutenant governor of the provincial people's government, and Xu Chonglin [1776 1504 2651], vice chairman of the provincial people's political consultative conference, participated in the forum. Comrade Ren Baige [0117 4101 2047], member of the Central Advisory Commission, and responsible comrades from the organization department of the provincial party committee and the provincial science commission also spoke of the party Central Committee also spent special representatives to participate in the forum.

The forum was held after the announcement of the "Decision of the Party Central Committee on the Reform of the Economic System." The guiding ideology of the forum is to further the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals. Comrade Feng Yuanwei stressed in his speech that it is necessary to understand and treat non-party intellectuals correctly, to pay close attention to implementating the party's policy toward intellectuals and doing the work well and to strengthen the organs which handle the united front work. He stressed that it is necessary to continue eliminating the "leftist" influence and to find out problems which impede the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals in order to resolve them step by step in a planned way. In particular,

we must have faith in them politically so that they can show utter devotion and work together with us wholeheartedly. In work, we must support them so that they may have a place to display their prowess and thereby bring their roles into full play. In conclusion, he emphasized that units which have more intellectuals must establish or strengthen their united front work organs and provide appropriate cadres because this is necessary in doing a good job in the work concerning intellectuals.

At the end of the forum, Li Peigen [2621 1014 2704], director of the united front work department of the provincial party committee, made a summation After the forum, comrades who participated in the meeting felt unanimously that they had learned experiences and had found the gap and that, after returning back, they will grasp the weak link to implement further the party's policy toward intellectuals in order to do a good job in the work concerning intellectuals.

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### IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY'S POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS REAFFIRMED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Shen Shi [3088 1395]: "Provincial Party Committee Sends Inspection Teams out To Expedite Implementation of Party's Policy Toward Intellectuals"]

[Text] In order to implement further the party's policy toward intellectuals, the provincial party committee at the end of October once again sent out inspection teams to various prefectures, auto prefectures and municipalities to supervise and check up on their work.

The main purpose of the inspection is to resolve problems in the following five areas: first, continue to conduct extensive and in-depth reeducation in the party's policy toward intellectuals and to make cadres of the whole party, especially leading cadres at all levels, know more about the importance and urgency of the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals. It is necessary to grasp typical cases. Units which have good records must be praised and those which refuse to take action, which overtly agree but covertly oppose or which hold on to their own views even after having undergone repeated education must be dealt with sternly and organizational measures must be taken if necessary. Second, continue to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology, get rid of obstructions of one kind or another, overcome factionalism and strengthen party character in order to resolve the problem of intellectuals' "encountering difficulties in becoming party members" so as to recruit enthusiastically those intellectuals who are qualified for party membership into the party. Third, further improve both the living allowance and the working conditions of intellectuals. The provincial party committee and the provincial people's government have worked out a "Temporary Provision Regarding Improvement of the Intellectuals' Living Allowance." The working teams must listen to the opinions of all sides in order to arouse the enthusiasm of intellectuals in our province further. Fourth, open various kinds of channels to bring about a rational circulation of talented people at a time when we are adhering mainly to the principle of planned deployment. Fifth, check up on progress made by party committees at all levels in implementing the policies and regulations worked out by the party Gentral Committee, the State Council, the provincial party committee and the provincial government. It is our demand that these policies and regulations must be conscientiously implemented by the end of this year. Those who neither implement nor make reports must be investigated and the leadership must be held responsible for that.

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#### EDUCATION IN PARTY SPIRIT EMPHASIZED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 84 p 1

[Article: "Earnestly Grasp Well the Educational Effort to Eliminate Factionalism and Strengthen Party Spirit"]

[Text] Between 12 and 17 October, the CPC Yunnan Provincial Discipline Examination Committee summoned a meeting among the discipline committee secretaries of all the localities, prefectures and municipalities of the entire province to transmit the spirit of the Discipline Examination Work Seminar of nine southwest and northwest provinces (regions); sponsored by the Central Discipline Examination Committee and to discuss conscientiously the requirements and measures for strengthening the party discipline examination work by integrating with the realities of our province under the new situation.

Liang Jia [2733 1367], deputy secretary of the CPC provincial committee, came to make a speech, and the responsible comrades of the components concerned in the Central Discipline Committee attended the meeting.

The meeting noted that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, especially after the implementation of overall party rectification, a new situation has been forming wherein party committees of all levels pay attention, the leadership takes the lead and the whole party grasps the work of party rectification. However, the workstyle of the party has not yet been basically changed to the good. At present, the salient questions on party workstyle in our province are: in some places, factionalism has seriously affected and harassed the improvement of party workstyle; in some places and units, severe bureaucratism has created big political and economic losses; and there are also a small number of party member leadership cadres who corrupt the party workstyle by taking advantage of their authority for selfish gain. The malignant inflation and integration of factionalism, networks of relationships, undesirable workstyles and individualism are the current salient forms of undesirable work styles, and the integration of factionalism and authority is the most dangerous. All party members and cadres in party discipline examination work should work painstakingly with full confidence and enthusiasm.

The meeting stressed that under the new environment many new situations and new questions have appeared. The new environment has two main elements: one is the urban economic structure reform that lies ahead of us, and the second is the deepening development of party rectification through China that lies ahead of us. To accomplish the above two tasks, from reviewing the realities in our province, we must thoroughly negate "the great cultural revolution," thoroughly negate the two factions, eliminate factionalism and enhance party spirit. Factionalism and party spirit are completely incompatible. Without thoroughly negating "the cultural revolution" and without eliminating factionalism, the factor of instability will exist, and it will not be possible to coincide ideologically and politically with the party Central Committee nor possible to perform well the various kinds of work, including that of discipline examination.

The meeting required that the discipline committees of various levels first of all do a good job in their own party rectification and be exemplary in the education of eliminating factionalism and enhancing party spirit; conscientiously help party committees in the educational work of thoroughly negating "the cultural revolution" and the two factions, or eliminating factionslism and of enhancing party spirit; and correctly recognize the relationship between party rectification and reform and propel and insure the realization of reform.

The meeting also made substantial arrangements for the discipline examination work for this winter and the coming spring.

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SICHUAN LAUNCHES SECOND PHASE OF PARTY CONSOLIDATION WORK

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Shen Zhenlian [3088 2182 5114]: "Local Party Committees in Our Province Continue To Carry Out Party Consolidation Work"]

[Text] On the basis of the plan concerning the second phase of party consolidation worked out by the party consolidation guiding group of the provincial party committee, the party committees of various municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures, one after another carried out party consolidation work in October and November of this year.

The party committee of the municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures which participated in the second phase of party consolidation work have all taken the matter seriously. They have held many meetings to study the matter and have made specific arrangements for doing a good job in party consolidation work. Party committees of such prefectures, municipalities and autonomous prefectures as Wanxian, Daxian, Leshan, Neijiang, Mianyang, Zigong, Luzhou, Dukou, Aba and Garze have adopted such methods as combining the higher levels with the lower ones and discussing over and over again in order to work out comprehensive party consolidation plans that are relatively realistic. Their guiding ideologies are relatively clear while their arrangements are more specific. At the beginning of party consolidation, principle leaders of the party committees of such municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures as Daxian, Miangyang, Leshan, Dukou and Aba related themselves with the realistic ideological trends of party members of their own units or departments and made mobilization speeches in light of the realities. They asked all party members, especially partymember cadres in leading positions, to take the lead to study documents relevant to party consolidation in order to deepen their understanding of the spirit and essence of these documents so as to enhance their understanding of the necessity and urgency of party consolidation and thereby enthusiastically to participate in party consolidation work.

In order to ensure that both party consolidation and economic work will not be held up, the leadership force of the various prefectures, municipalities and autonomous prefectures has been solidified. In general, two different sets of groups have been organized, one responsible for party consolidation and the other for carrying out economic reform and other professional work.

It has also been decided that party consolidation work has to be handled personally by the principle leading cadres. Groups for guiding party consolidation work and crack organs for handling party consolidation affairs have also been organized in accordance with the actual conditions of their own areas or units.

In order to ensure that party consolidation work will not be conducted in a perfunctory manner, we must first learn to avoid going through the motions. In order to learn thoroughly the documents relevant to party consolidation, the units participating in this phase of party consolidation have gradually adopted the following measures: The first is to ensure that leading cadres will themselves do a good job in study. Some units have put leading cadres together first to study while some other units have practiced conducting concentrated studies by leading cadres at various tages. The second is to make the focal points of study stand out. These units have already made a preliminary study of the documents relevant to party consolidation at an earlier stage. After party consolidation has been formally carried out, they have stressed the study of such documents as the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation," "Decision of the CPC Central Committee Concerning Economic System Reform" and "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" in order to integrate themselves with the realities and to unity understanding. The third is to proceed from actual conditions in order to make appropriate arrangements for carrying out work and study for 15-20 days by groups. Some other units have practiced such methods as studying and working 3 days a week or studying 4 days and working 2 days or studying during the day and working in the evening. In some areas, conferences which are not absolutely necessary have also been cancelled in order to concentrate their energy to study well during party consolidation. The fourth is to make the system of study rigorous. It is not advisable to ask for leave under normal conditions. Members and advisors of the standing committee of the Dukou party committee and its party-member deputy mayor have always been in favor of study. They never asked for leave and, in study, they made notes and outlines for speeches. Some comrades think that even though they have studied these documents in the past, however, at this time, as they integrate study with practice in party consolidation, they have become increasingly interested in these documents and are much more receptive than before.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN CARRIES OUT INSPECTION OF PARTY WORKSTYLE

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 84 p 1

[Article: "Provincial Party Committee Carries out Large-scale Inspection of Party Workstyle in Whole Province"]

[Text] On the basis of the demand of the party Central Committee that a basic turn for the better in the party's workstyle must be realized as soon as possible and of the concrete plan of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the provincial party committee decided recently to carry out a large-scale inspection of the party's workstyle in our province from December of this year through January 1985.

The provincial discipline inspection committee, on the basis of the decision of the provincial party committee and the work arrangement made by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, held a meeting of the secretaries of the prefectural, autonomous prefectural and municipal discipline inspection committees in Kunming from 13-16 November 1984. At the meeting, it stressed and learned the spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and discussed matters relevant to strengthening the party's discipline inspection work and to ensuring a smooth implementation of the economic system reform. Concrete arrangements have been made for carrying out the large-scale inspection of the party's workstyle throughout the province. (Separate arrangements will be made for units of organizations directly under the provincial party committee which participated in the first phase of party consolidation.)

The chief purpose of carrying out the large-scale inspection of the party's workstyle is to keep realistically abreast of the basic situation of the party's workstyle in our province in a relatively all-round way, to make clear how the matter stands, to sum up experiences, to strengthen the discipline inspection work, to open up new prospects, to arouse the whole party to improve the party's workstyle, to ensure a smooth implementation of the economic system reform, to strive for a marked turn for the better of the party's workstyle year after year and to realize on schedule a basic turn for the better in the party's workstyle throughout our province by means of party consolidation.

During the large-scale inspection of the party's workstyle carried out at this time, party committees at all levels are required to organize, under the unified leadership, various departments which exercise relevant functions to achieve the goal of realization the four integrations by means of relying on the masses both within and outside of the party and proceeding from actual conditions. The four integrations are: close integration of the large-scale inspection of the party's workstyle with the redress of unhealthy tendencies, the enforcement of party discipline and the rectification of the party's workstyle; with the formulation of programs for realizing a basic turn for the better in the party's workstyle, the setting up and perfection of the responsibility system for improving the party's workstyle and the year-end self-measurement by the standards of a Communist; with the improvement of the party's workstyle and the strengthening of the building of the discipline inspection ranks and with the spread of experience and the commendation of the advanced. Through inspection, it is necessary to enforce the discipline of the party further, to rectify the party's workstyle, to improve production and to promote reform so as to bring about a marked turn for the better in the party's workstyle.

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NORTH REGION

INTELLECTUALS' DIFFICULTIES IN BECOMING PARTY MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Zheng Xiaofeng [6774 4562 2800]: "Clear Away Obstacles for Outstanding Intellectuals To Join the Party"]

[Text] This reporter has learned from the Organization Department of the party Central Committee that in the first 6 months of this year, good progress has been made in the work of developing party members from among intellectuals. According to incomplete statistics, during the first 6 months of this year, party members who were recruited from among professional and technical personnel of one kind or another exceeded 40 percent of the total number of party members recruited.

Gao Yang [7557 2254], first secretary of the Hebei provincial party committee; Guo Feng [6753 1496], first secretary of the Liaoning provincial party committee; and Zhou Hui [0719 1920], first secretary of the party committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, have all personally resolved the problem of intellectuals who encounter difficulties in becoming party members. Gao Yang spoke at the forum on the question of intellectuals at Hebei University and Hebei Agricultural University: "The provincial party committee has made the determination. Whoever intends to bar intellectuals from joining the party will be resolutely ousted from the leading post." A deputy director of the Feng Feng Mining Area of Handan Municipality tried to bar an assistant engineer who are qualified for party membership from joining the party. After conducting a thorough investigation of the case, he was dismissed from all his posts both within and outside of the party. Party committees of the higher levels in all areas of the province will resolutely dismiss those people who envy able and virtuous persons, go in for factionalism or willfully block intellectuals from joining the party as soon as they are discovered. Wang Suxiang [3769 4790 7449], an animal farming expert of the prairie work team of Gansu Province, has been working in Gansu for 30 years. For the purpose of changing the face of arid central part of Gansu, she made contributions in developing grasslands for raising animals. She was also elected deputy to the Sixth National People's Congress. Since 1952, she has applied for party membership five times, but the secretary of the party committee of the work team paid no attention to her applications. The party branch was prepared to recruit her into the party, but the secretary

stood in the way. The leading party group of the animal husbandry department of Gansu Province dismissed him from his post as party committee secretary. In the planning section of the chemical fertilizer factory of the Jilin Chemical Industrial Company, applications for party membership and reports on the ideological progress and problems of intellectuals have piled up as high as 2 feet. Up until last year (1983), no member has been recruited into the party in 8 years. Because it was discovered by the party committee of the higher level, the secretary of this party branch was dismissed and the door has since been opened to welcome outstanding intellectuals joining the party. The Yinchuan municipal party committee, in conducting an investigation of the problem of intellectuals who encounter difficulties in becoming party members, discovered that in the Yinchuan Tannery, engineer Chen Jichen [7115 4921 3819] was barred from joining the party deliberately by members of the party branch and three of them were found to have committed mistakes in varying degrees during the "cultural revolution". The secretary of the party branch was one of the heads of the rebelling corps of the factory. Yinchuan municipal party committee requested that this typical case be taken up to draw lessons in order to carry out a conscientious investigation and bring about a solution to the problem of intellectuals who encounter difficulties in becoming party members.

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EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE IN NEI MONGGOL

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 4 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Wula Tukese. Zhaori Getu [3527 5695 0956 0344 2507 2480 2706 0956]: "Inner Mongolian Nationality Educational Structure Initially Formulated"]

[Text] Under the brilliant illumination of the party's nationality policy, the nationality educational enterprise of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region has developed rapidly and has initially formulated the nationality educational structure from preschool education to high school education and from general education to specialized education.

Before Emancipation, Inner Mongolian nationality education was very backward. When the autonomous region was founded in 1947, the entire region had only 3 nationality middle schools and more than 300 nationality grammar schools, while illiterates and semi-literates accounted for more than 90 percent of the youths and adults of the region. From Emancipation to 1966, Inner Mongolian nationality education was greatly developed, both in quantity and in quality, and a great number of talented persons were cultivated. Especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the whole region has "positively restored and steadily developed" the nationality educational enterprise on the basis of priority and an emphasis on formulating the school operation policy that suits the pastoral areas. At present, there are more than 3,500 nationality grammar schools and 396 nationality middle schools in the entire autonomous region and there are 510,000 ethnic Mongolian middle and grammar school students in school. Compared with 1947, the number of nationality grammar schools has grown 8.5 times and that of nationality middle schools 131 times. Of the 14 ordinary schools of higher learning in the entire region, 3 are nationality schools of higher learning and another 5 have departments and specialties that use the Mongolian language for teaching. There are 5,800 nationality university students in school. There are, on the average, 1 grammar school student per 1,000 persons, 1 junior middle school per 10,000 persons and 1 senior

middle school per 30,000 persons. There is one Mongolian race normal school or combined Mongolian and Han-race normal school in each of the leagues. In addition, there has also been a great improvement in the conditions for operating nationality middle and grammar schools above the banner and county levels and in the remote pastoral areas.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Inner Mongolia started to cultivate Mongolian-language research students working toward master's degrees. Among the 135 master's degree research students, 31 are of the nationality minority.

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#### MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN LEGISLATIVE WORK TAKEN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 85 p 4

[Article: "New Features Appeared in the Work of the Standing Committee of Tianjin Municipal People's Congress"]

[Text] NCNA, Tianjn, 13 January—The standing committee of the Tianjin municipal people's congress strengthened its legislative work and conscientiously employed its supervisory power, and a new situation has appeard in all areas.

According to the urgent need of the four modernizations construction, the reform and the open-door policy, the standing committee of the Tianjin municipal people's congress deepened its investigation and study, extensively requested opinions and enacted some local regulations. During the 12th session of the standing committee of the municipal people's congress in October of last year, the "Tianjin Municipality Labor Protection Regulation (trial implemention)," "Tianjin Municipality Urban and Rural Market Trade Foodstuffs Health Administration Regulation (trial implementation)" and "Tianjin Municipality Regulation on Certain Stipulations To Protect the Legitimate Interests of Women and Children" were scrutinized and passed. These local regulations have been brought into play in the material and spiritual civilization of Tianjin Municipality. At the same time, the standing committee of the municipal people's congress also drafted the following local regulations: regulation on the administration of the Tianjin municipality economic and technical development zone, on the popularization of junior compulsory education and on the protection of the interests of consumers in economic reform.

The standing committee of the Tianjin municipal people's congress also routinely organized committee members to inspect the work and the status of the implementation of various regulations. Cases of nonstrict compliance with or violation of the regulations which were discovered during the course of examination were in a timely manner referred to the components concerned for corrective action or serious investigation and handling. Typical examples of serious individual cases which constituted crimes were solemnly handled.

In carrying out its authority as the local organ of the state, the standing committee of the Tianjin municipal people's congress pays attention to solving the problems of general concern to the citizens of the entire municipality.

In early March of last year, the organization officer of the municipal people's congress discovered that the environments of some rural and county middle and primary schools were too poor, with school buildings needing repair, classroom doors, windows, desks and chairs being old and shabby and seriously jeopardizing the health and growth of middle and primary school students and the elevation of education quality. The standing committee of the municipal people's congress immediately referred to the municipal department of education the improvement of the school operation environments. Mayor Li Ruihuan [2621 3843 3883] quickly summoned a meeting to study and prescribe a deadline for solving the problem. The result was the evident improvement in the operational environments in a few months of the rural middle and primary schools.

For strengthening the link between the standing committee and the delegates of the municipal people's congress, and bringing into full play the role of the delegates, the standing committee of the Tianjin municipal people's congress stipulated every Thursday as the day for its chief to receive and listen directly to the criticism, suggestions and opinions of grassrootslevel delegates. At the same time, the chief, the deputy chief and the responsible persons of the various committees routinely visited the delegates. In May and June of last year, they respectively called on 163 delegates in the 18 wards and counties within the municipality, which accounted for more than one-fifth of the total number of delegates in the entire municipality, while 330 items of opinions, criticisms and suggestions were received. Later on, the municipal people's congress summoned three consecutive meetings and, in coordination with the municipal components concerned, formulated the ways and measures for solving problems, resulting in the solution and implementation of all. In early December of last year, the standing committee of the municipal people's congress summoned a forum of the delegates of the municipal people's congress from all walks of life and invited the presence of the mayor and the deputy mayor to listen to the opinions and the suggestions on the work of the government. The delegates brought up 137 statements of opinion, which were answered by the municipal government within 10 days.

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NORTHEAST REGION

#### CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OF DALIAN PARTY SECRETARY REPORTED

Activities Described

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by reporter Yan Pengyuan [3601 7720 6678] of Liaoning COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER Magazine: "Cao Father and Son Are Evildoers"]

[Text] On Fengming Street in Xigang District of Dalian City, there is a splendid little house where Cao Lin [2580 2651] -- the former member of the Dalian municipal party committee, member of the leading party group of the municipal government, director and concurrently secretary of the leading party group of the municipal science committee -- and his whole family live. Cao Yizhu [2580 6146 4554], the elder son of Cao Lin, has successively been with the Dalian Low Voltage Swtich Factory and the Third Dalian Instrument Factory as a worker. Cao Yizhu, who was known as a "loafer," committed a number of crimes one after another at the peaceful residence of the Cao's family. One day, when Cao Yizhu heard of a woman worker who was going to a public bathhouse in the city to take a bath, he immediately invited her to take a bath at his home. When this girl was going to bathe in the bathroom of Cao's residence, she was poisoned with gas and made to feel dizzy and weak. Cao Yizhu seized the opportunity to rape her. From 1973 through Arpil 1981, Cao Yizhu for a long time indecently assailed, seduced and raped as many as 26 young girls under the pretext of "making love" or "making a friend" or by means of showing them obscene pictures and dirty photographs or of taking nude pictures.

Most of Cao Yizhu's criminal activities were carried out in his home. As early as 1975, Cao Lin discovered the indecent behavior of his son. However, not only did he fail to report the facts to the party organization, he also did not take effective measures to stop him. In August 1976, the leader of the workshop of the factory where Cao Yizhu worked went to Cao's residence twice to uncover Cao Yizhu's illegal activities. Cao Lin even said: "My son is very good at home. It is in your factory that he has been led to go wrong." After finishing his words, Cao Lin went off in a huff. Soon ofterwards, Cao Lin utilized his "relations" to send Cao Yizhu to work at the Third Dalian Instrument Factory. With the connivance of Cao Lin, Cao Yizhu went from behaving like a hoodlum to committing crimes. Again, more than 20 women were raped, seduced or assailed with obscenities by him.

During this period, Cao Lin witnessed more than 10 women being escorted home by Cao Yizhu and Cao Lin himself entertained some of them in such ways as talking about everyday matters, watching TV and dining together with them. Furthermore, with the permission of Cao Lin, Cao Yizhu secretly installed an extension of his father's home phone in his own bedroom for use by himself as an instrument to seduce women and to carry out other criminal activities. When a young woman came to Tao's residence to complain tearfully of what had happened to her, Cao Yizhu's mother said: "It is not my business."

In December 1980, when Cao Yizhu was detained and tried for the first time by the public security organ, Cao Lin sent a subordinate cadre to the public security bureau to fish for information. Cao Lin called leading cadres of the public security bureau and said: "Do not merely investigate what happened to Cao Yizhu; it is also necessary to investigate the girls." On 13 January 1981, Cao Yizhu was released on bail for medical treatment. In late April, Cao Yizhu was fully recovered. Cao Lin asked him to contact the people in the public security bureau who were responsible for his case to obtain a letter certifying that "he not be detained or tried again." He returned to work at the factory with this letter and continued to carry out his criminal activities. Three women have since been seduced by him. He picked a quarrel to retaliate against a victim who had filed a charge against him for his criminal activities and the victim was beaten up and injured. On 5 August 1981, Cao Yizhu was detained and tried for the second time. When people of the public security bureau came to Cao Lin and his wife to inquire into the situation of Cao Yizhu's criminal activities they even tried to conceal what they knew of the case and to cover up the main facts of their son's criminal activities.

The masses of cadres, the people and the young female victims have filed many charges with the public security organs and leading organs at all levels against Cao Yizhu's indecent criminal activities and his parents' conduct in conniving in and harboring their son's crimes. In June 1981, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission instructed the Liaoning provincial discipline inspection committee and the Dalian municipal discipline inspection committee to investigate into and deal with Cao Lin's case. The Dalian municipal party committee and the Liaoning provincial party committee have sent out investigation teams in July 1981 and early 1982, respectively, to investigate into these problems. Soon afterwards, the Dalian municipal public security organ arrested Cao Yizhu in accordance with the law. In May 1982, the court of Xigang District of Dalian Municipality sentenced Cao Yixhu to 13 years of imprisonment.

The joint investigation team of the Liaoning provincial party committee and the Dalian municipal party committee spent more than 1 year in conducting an investigation and it was found that Cao Lin had actually connived in and covered up the cases of rape and other indecent criminal activities of his elder son Cao Yizhu. Cao Lin not only refused to admit his mistakes, but rather he resented the investigation conducted by the party organizations. He even said: "This actually is my son's business, but its purpose is to get me involved. If I am qualified to be a party member now,

keep me in the party. Otherwise, simply remove me from party membership." It was decided in a discussion at the Dalian municipal party committee at the end of April last year and then approved by the Liaoning provincial party committee on 9 February this year that Cao Lin was to be placed on probation within the party for 2 years. Later on, he was also dismissed from his administrative post.

# Postscript Comment

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 84 p 5

[Text] As a senior cadre of the party, Cao Lin departed from the principle of upholding the party's character of a Communist not only because he failed to stop his son from committing indecent criminal activities but because he tried his best to shelter and connive with him.

The case of Cao Lin tells us that if we want to crack down on illegal criminal activities effectively, it will be necessary for us to wage struggles resolutely against the evil tendencies which exist within the party. In order to create a more stable and unified circumstance for the construction of the four modernizations, it is absolutely impermissible for us to relax our fighting willpower or to give up the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism. As has been pointed out recently by a responsible cadre of the party Central Committee, "in party rectification we must unswervingly attain the goal of taking an obvious turn for the better in the party workstyle. In order to attain this goal, we must perseveringly carry out two basic measures: first, we must promote to higher positions a large number of cadres in the prime of life who are of a fine party character and who are able to make a new breakthrough and knowledgeable. Second, we must resolutely expose a handful of people who violate the law and discipline and deal with them appropriately. We must make individual cases which are particularly vile known to the public so as to ensure a correct understanding of the facts. In short, we must not be vague, nor may we hesitate or take a wait-and-see attitude."

Cao Lin repeatedly refused to reveal the criminal activities of his son, which were known to him, and intentionally concealed the facts of his son's crimes. The case is vicious. Did he already violate the law? The departments concerned must continue to investigate in order to enforce party discipline and the laws of the state.

### UNIVERSITY FOUNDED IN HARBIN FOR ELDERLY

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 23, 10 Dec 84 pp 34-35

[Article by Xu Jiangshal [1776 3068 0810]: "University in Harbin for Elderly Benefits Individuals and Society"]

[Text] "I use my remaining vigor to do good deeds and dedicate my ageless youth to China..." These soaring notes accompanied me as I stepped into Harbin University for the Elderly.

Founded last April, this new institution now has more than 500 students, all of them retired workers or cadres who formerly belonged to various units and contingents at the provincial, prefectural and municipal level throughout Heilongjiang. More than 20 of them are 70 or over and the oldest student is 79. The students also include 10 "student couples." There are four required courses, political ideological training for the elderly, hygiene and health care, physical education and writing, and three electives, flowers and plants, traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy. The university has its own emblem and school song. Since its inception, the university has often held public lectures on conditions at home and abroad, organized tours to outlying areas, put up student exhibitions and arranged for a 100-person choir to take part in the Harbin summer concert. Last September, the university team captured the championship in an doorball (an interesting sport from Japan which is suitable for the elderly) invitational tournament. Students also spend their spare time coaching middle school students, passing on their knowledge to the next generation.

The first student I met was Zhang Chuncai [1728 2504 1752], captain of the croquet [men qiu] team. He was previously a regimental commander in the military region but resigned after being seriously hurt in a traffic accident last year. In the days after the accident, he spent his time either eating, taking medicine or sleeping and his weight shot up to 208 catties. Depressed, he thought to himself, "Is this how I am going to spend the rest of my life?" He brushed aside early suggestions by his wife and daughter that he enroll in the university for the elderly, saying, "Those old fogeys and old ladies. Other than idle chatting, what can they learn?" But he finally yielded to the repeated urgings of his wife and children and, still on crutches, went to the university to try it out, only to be attracted by its rich and varied life. In particular, his physique improved so visibly after he began taking part in all kinds of

sports activities that he was able to throw away his crutches at the end of 2 months and even became captain of the croquet team. Under his leadership, the team practiced long and hard in preparation for the match against a Japanese croquet team comprising old people from Utsunomiya and was rewarded with a 3-0 victory. These days he is a picture of health and has reduced his weight to 170 catties.

We also met a student couple, Liu Qian [0491 3480], a former vice governor of the province, and his wife. They look so energetic that I would not have believed they are both in their 70's had I not been thus informed. Together the elderly couple attend classes, take part in discussions and participate in sports activities. Liu Qian worked particularly hard in his writing course. Summing up his 20-odd-year experience on the agricultural front, he recently completed a report on the developmentof Heilongjiang, which details the measures adopted to increase food yield per unit area by exploiting the superior resources of the province. The leadership of the provincial CPC committee held the article in such high esteem that it distributed copies of it to the departments concerned for their reference. Liu Qian said, "Although I am now retired, I can still make myself useful. I intend to write about my several decades' experience, which derived from the people, so that it can benefit the public."

After the university was founded, it has received numerous letters from elderly people across the nation and has played host to visitors from such countries as Japan and Canada as well as others from more than 10 provinces and municipalities including Beijing and Jiangxi. Wei Hengcang [7614 1854 0221], deputy director of the National Commission on Aging, has praised it, saying, "The university has been very well run and developed its own personality." After touring the institution, Mr Sui-gu-shan-zhou [phonetic], a director of the Japan Calligraphy Association, said, "Harbin University for the Elderly is a concrete embodiment of modern education."

The sky was bright with the sunset glow as I bid farewell to the university. Seemingly cherishing the last part of its trip before it disappeared behind the hills, the western sun had painted a glorious night scene with a blaze of colors.

12581

NORTHWEST REGION

RENEWED EMPHASIS ON UNITED FRONT, POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE WORK

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region recently convened a regional working conference to strengthen coordination, exchange experience and discuss ways of improving its work to meet the needs of economic structural reform. The success of the conference would do much to promote the development of political consultative work throughout the region.

An important facet of political work, political consultative work deserves our close attention. We stress this fact because some people both inside and outside the party still do not understand the united front or the CPPCC, and even have mistaken ideas about them. To do a good job in political consultative work and consolidate and develop the patriotic united front, we must make more far-reaching and detailed efforts in propaganda and education, both inside and outside the party, to instill in everybody a correct understanding of the importance of the united front in the new era, the appropriateness of the party's principles regarding the united front and the nature, mission and functions of the CPPCC, and remove the influences of erroneous leftist ideas.

The CPPCC is a highly representative patriotic united front organization of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party. It has distinct Chinese characteristics. Its success depends on our correctly understanding and thoroughly implementing the party's united front policies in the new era. In the past revolutionary period, it was easy to perceive the importance of the united front which was one of the three magic weapons for defeating the enemy. After liberation, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people of all nationalities in China abolished the exploitative system and replaced it with the socialist system. As the nation's social class structure underwent a basic transformation, the united front also developed into an extensive, proletariat-led alliance which is based on the workers' and peasants' association and links together socialist laborers with patriots who embrace socialism and a united motherland. In the new historical era of socialist construction, China's patriotic united front has become even broader, more solidified and gained greater vitality, still an important "magic weapon" in the Chinese people's struggle for unity and construction. Our party's basic policy towards the united front is to insist on correctly handling the people's internal contradictions, strict

compliance with the socialist democratic and socialist legal systems, the democratic approach, criticism and self-criticism, direct education, correctly dealing with the various contradictions within the united front and actively helping people from all walks of life outside the party make new progress to achieve the four modernizations. The party's basic policy on the united front is founded on the objective changes that have occurred in the class structure of the country and is entirely correct. It should be the signpost for the work of the CPPCC in the new era.

As a united front organization, the CPPCC has played a key historical role in the past and will make even greater contributions towards the nation's political and social life, external friendly relations, socialist modernization and the struggle to preserve national unity. The basic mission of the united front and the CPPCC in the new era is to do the best they can to unite all forces which can be united, mobilize all positive factors, develop and strengthen the people's unity, strive to bring about the quadrupling of the agricultural and industrial output value by the end of the century, develop a sophisticated socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and achieve the three tasks for the 1980's and 1990's. In other words, the CPPCC bears the essential historic mission of uniting and mobilizing all forces in the service of socialist modernization. The idea that it is expendable could not be more wrong.

To carry out modern economic construction, we must encourage socialist democracy. And the CPPCC is exactly the organization for encouraging people's democracy and integrating people from all walks of life, in the following works: first, by carrying out political consultation on vital affairs of state and other matters affecting people's life; second, by exercising a democratic supervisory function through recommendations and criticisms; third, by acting as a think tank which conducts research and investigations and puts forward policy recommendations; fourth, by motivating and assisting social forces to undertake all sorts of enterprises that benefit socialist construction; and fifth, by promoting the tradition of self-education and self-transformation, carrying on with the work of ideological transformation on the basis of unity and criticism and helping people in all quarters strengthen their unity and press ahead in order to serve socialism. To accomplish these tasks, political consultative conferences and their members must exert tremendous efforts and develop a deep love for the motherland, fervently support the leadership of the Communist Party, and be passionately committeed to the four modernizations. Moreover, party and government organs and cadres must wholeheartedly devote themselves to serving the people, strengthen the masses' perspective and the democratic way of doing things, show a high regard for and heed the opinions, suggestions and criticisms of the CPPCC and listen to them with humility, make timely consultations with the CPPCC on important matters, cooperate both inside and outside the party, enthusiastically support various democratic parties in running enterprises in the public interest and make a determined effort to get rid of such bureaucratic practices as putting on airs and muddling through.

Newly constituted people's political consultative conferences at all levels in our region are reportedly quite different from those in the past. The percentage of non-party members has gone up, they now have more intellectuals and experts and also represent more groups. The political consultative conferences in many cities and counties have won the respect of the people by their good performance. At the same time, numerous facts prove that the key to improving political consultative work lies in strengthening the leadership of the party committee. Party committees at all levels should take political consultative work seriously and concern themselves with it. Through regular discussions and inspection, they should help it resolve its problems. More important, we must make full use of the intelligence of the political consultative conference by frequently providing it with facts and information, make demands on it and encourage it to contribute to the four modernizations and the goal that "Ningxia must stand up first."

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NORTHWEST REGION

IMPROVEMENT OF VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL EDUCATION REPORTED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Wu Jingyuan [0702 2529 0337]: "Vocational and Technical Education in Ningxia Shows Steady Improvement"]

[Text] Since the regional party committee and the regional people's government have attached importance to and have shown concern for vocational and technical education in our province, gratifying results have been achieved in this regard. At present, vocational secondary schools of various categories which have been either rebuilt or newly set up have increased from 6 schools, 21 specialities and 65 classes. The number of students enrolled increased from the original 2,500-odd students to 6,000-odd students.

In August of this year, the regional party committee and the regional people's government held a conference on "reforming the structure of secondary school education and developing vocational and technical education in the whole region." Since the conference, all local party committees and governments have strengthened their leadership in the reform of the structure of secondary school education and in the development of vocational and technical education. They have set up appropriate leading organs and have put forward programs for converting vocational secondary schools of different categories or for building new ones. Vocational secondary schools have readjusted and provided teachers for cultural and specialized courses, added teaching equipment for specialized courses and have established or decided on bases for carrying out experiments or practices. All these actions are advantageous to opening up new prospects in vocational and technical education.

In restructuring the existing or in establishing the new vocational schools of different categories in various places, attention has been paid to the characteristics and needs of different areas. In Guyuan County, besides the establishment of agricultural middle schools and forestry middle schools, preparations are being made to set up vocational secondary schools of business administration. Dongfeng Township of Wuzong Municipality is an area where people of the Hui nationality are relatively concentrated. The party committee of this township, for the purpose of giving full play to the superiorities of this township in the three areas of agricultural technology,

livestock and poultry farming and civil construction, has converted the former Dongfeng Township Middle School into a vocational and technical school for the Hui people aimed at cultivating the technical backbones of rural enterprises for their own use and for the use of neighboring townships. It has won the support of the local people.

There has been an increasing number of vocational schools jointly set up by the education and economic departments. This has been a remarkable sign of the healthy development of vocational and technical education in our region. Taking Yinchuan Municipality as an example, a total of 23 classes and 18 specialties have been recruited this year throughout the municipality, of which 15 classes and 12 specialities were set up by the education department of the municipality in cooperation, respectively, with the regional department of light and textile industries, the regional department of heavy industry, the main office of the Ningxia Construction Company and the Yinchuan municipal bureau of commerce, the municipal furniture company and the municipal electronics company. These vocational classes have put into effect the practice of directed enrollment, directed training and directed recruitment of people from among the best. The education department is responsible for providing school buildings and teachers of cultural classes and for taking care of work relevant to teaching. Personnel units are responsible for supplying teachers for specialized courses and providing sites for students to carry out practices and for providing subsidies needed in specialized education. Good results have been achieved in this respect. The Yinchuan Cotton Textile Factory has set up a class relevant to light textiles in cooperation with the Yinchuan Municipal Vocational Middle School. A total of 20 graduates of this class are employed by this factory. After joining the factory, these students are able to work regular shifts. Moreover, they are modest and eager to learn and are enthusiastic in their work. The factory wholeheartedly welcomes them.

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SHAANXI RAISES FUNDS TO RUN SCHOOLS

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 84 p 1

[Article: "Raising Funds To Run Schools Has Taken on a Gratifying Aspect in Our Province"]

[Text] Over the past year, raising funds to run schools in our province has taken on a gratifying aspect which is unprecedented. By the end of October 1984, a total of more than 130 million yuan has been raised, which is equivalent to 2.5 times the total investment from both the state and local revenues allocated for capital construction and the maintenance of regular educational undertakings this year. Nearly 150,000 school buildings have been completed or repaired and more than 700,000 new school desks and benches have been purchased. Many schools have built new brick enclosing walls, painted doors and windows and installed glass. At present, the demand of "letting every school remove dangerous buildings, letting every class have a classroom and letting every student have a desk and a bench" set by the party Central Committee has been fulfilled in 39 counties (municipalities and prefectures).

The funds raised for running schools in various places come mainly from raising collectively and from incomes from work-study programs and the participation of teachers and students in the work of school construction. Funds of this kind usually make up 70-80 percent of the total funds raised. The other portion of 20-30 percent comes from individual contributions of labor or materials, or from donations of grains or cash from the masses.

In raising funds for running schools, many advanced figures have emerged. Sun Bin [1327 2430], a retired veteran cadre who did many deeds of merit during the war years, donated 10,000 yuan to build a school in his hometown, Baishui County. Comrade Hu Yaobang inscribed this school with the name "Zhen Hua Primary School." Zhang Zhengmin [1728 2973 3046], a specialized household of Huayuan Village in Chang'an County, donated 60,000 yuan to his alma mater to build a two-story building. The Wenjiu Construction unit of Baoji County donated 450,000 yuan to help set up a culture and education center in his native village in which a primary school was included.

The masses said cheerfully: "The government has done a good job for us." In many places, after the completion of a new school, the masses show movies, set off firecrackers and thereby make the scene lively.

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NORTHWEST REGION

FORUM ON SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF PROMULGATION OF NEW CONSTITUTION

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by Li Yunqiao [2521 7189 2890]: "Form Sponsored by the Standing Committee of the People's Representative Congress To Celebrate the Second Anniversary of the Promulgation of the New Constitution"]

[Text] To celebrate the second anniversary of the promulgation and the implementation of the "Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic" and to study in depth, propagate and carry out thoroughly the new socialist constitution with Chinese characteristics, the standing committee of the people's representative congress of the autonomous region solemnly held a formu in the auditorium of the Helanshan Hotel in Yinchuan on the afternoon of 3 December. More than 300 people, including the party, the government and military leadership comrades of the autonomous region, well-knwon personages of all nationalities and professions, the responsible people of all democratic political parties and civic organizations, the responsible persons of the components concerned of the autonomous region and Yinchuan Municipality and the responsible persons of the Ningxia jurist association and of the public security and political and law organs attended the forum by invitation.

Hei Poli [7815 0130 3810], deputy secretary of the autonomous region's CPC committee and chairman of the region's government; Ma Qingnian [7456 7230 1628], chairman of the standing committee of the region's people's representative congress; and Ma's deputies Zhang Junxian [1728 0193 6343], Li Shumin [2621 1659 3046], Guo Wenju [6763 2429 5282], Peng Linbai [1756 2651 2672], Liang Feibiao [2733 7378 1793] and Feng Mao [7458 5399] arrived at the forum site early to greet the comrades coming to participate in the forum, which was presided over by deputy chief Zhang Junxian.

Hei Poli made a speech entitled "Thoroughly Implement the Principles of the Constitution, Carry out the Open Door Policy and Speed up the Development of Our Region's Economic Construction."

Ma Qingnian delivered a written statement. He emphasized that the new constitution is the best and the most mature one since the founding of the People's Republic, is the fundamental law for protecting our country's

prolonged order and security and is the basic guiding principle of the political, economic and cultural life of all the nationalities of the whole country. We must resolutely carry out the new constitution and protect its dignity. In his speech, deputy chief Peng Linbai of the standing committee of the autonomous region's people's representative congress stated that the new constitution is the overall solution for administering the country during the new period and is the highest norm of behavior of all the state organs, political parties, military services, enterprise organizations and citizens. The new constitution has the highest legal force. Since the promulgation of the new constitution 2 years ago, various places and various components have done much work in conscientiously organizing the cadres and masses to study the new constitution in depth, in propagating it extensively and in resolutely implementing it thoroughly, and good results have been achieved. At present, tremendous changes have occurred in the economic construction, social security and other areas of the entire region. The new constitution has more and more taken root in the hearts of the people and day after day has shown its tremendous influence. He said that the law is the finalization of the principles and the policies of the party and the state, and the new constitution enacted under the guidance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is the most fundamental guarantee in carrying out socialist modernization construction. Practice has proved that the new constitution has brought about the state's very promising situation. Our political situation is stable and united, and our economic situation is lively. However, we should see that the concept of law on the part of some cadres and masses is rather thin, that they do not have a sufficient recognition of the need to enhance legal system construction and of the need and the importance of administering the state under the provisions of the law, and that there still exists the situation of nonconformity with existing laws, failure to comply strictly with the stipulations of the law and nonpunishment of law violators, while the laws already enacted are not fully observed and implemented. Therefore, the strengthening of the legal system is an important task confronting us.

Wang Jinzhang [3769 6855 3864], the chairman of the autonomous region's people's political consultative conference; Ma Tengai [7456 7506 7224], the vice chairman of the autonomous region; Lei Qilin [7192 0796 7207], the vice chairman of the autonomous region's people's political consultative conference and chief of the Ningxia chapter of the Guomindang revolutionary committee; Wu Jialin [0702 1367 7792], the deputy chief of the Ningxia jurist association; Shi Mocun [0670 7817 1317], the deputy commander of Ningxia military subregion; Jia Putang [6328 2613 1016], the deputy chief of the autonomous region's democratic league; Chen Longjun [7115 7127 6874], the deputy chief of the Jiu San Society preparatory committee; Li Xianrun [2621 0341 3387], the deputy chief procurator of the autonomous region's procuratorate; author Zhang Xianliang [1728 6343 0081]; Zhang Huaiwu [1728 3041 2976], the deputy secretary of the autonomous region's communist youth corps committee; Yang Maolin [2799 5300 2651], the chief of the autonomous region's

industry and business alliance; Gong Gan [1712 0474], the individual household and specialized household of Yinchuan municipality; and Li Zhixue [2621 1807 1331], the deputy chief of the standing committee of the people's representative congress of Long De County, also spoke at the forum. They said that the new constitution is our law of revitalization, law of happiness and law of prosperity. China must not depart from the rule of law if she desires to speed across the sky. Each of us citizens and each of us cadres should firmly remember that all state organs, armed services, political parties, social organizations, enterprises and business organizations must obey the constitution and the law. No organization or individual should have the privilege of being above the constitution and the law. It is the duty of everyone to implement thoroughly the constitution, and each citizen must strengthen his concept of the legal system.

Rong Hanquan [1389 3352 6898], member of the All-China People's Political Consultative Conference and chairman of the autonomous region's Taiwanese compatriot association, stated that the new constitution reflects the basic interests of the nationalities of the entire country and that the new constitution's recognition of the great enterprise of completing the Motherland's unification as the sacred duty of the entire Chinese people, including Taiwanese compatriots, is a full realization of the will of the vast number of overseas compatriots and Taiwanese compatriots. The new constitution fully expresses the state's concern for Taiwanese compatriots and the party's traditional policy and is a very big inspiration to Taiwanese compatriots in Ningxia. We will not betray the expectations of the party and the state and must go forward to unite and contact the Taiwanese compatriots both inside and outside China in order to make the Taiwanese Compatriots Association function like a bridge and a link. We must contribute with one heart and one mind our energy toward the great enterprise of revitalizing China and of the peaceful unification of the Motherland.

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#### STRENGTHENING OF POLITICAL LIFE URGED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Healthy Political Life Must Be Strengthened"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out at a recent conference that our country and race are entering the third phase, which is the task of constructing a strong modernized socialist country, of unifying the Motherland before the end of this century and of tripling production. To accomplish the above goals, we rely on three factors--the first is a reliance on correct policy and on the positive outlook of the 1 billion population, the second is a reliance on a healthy political life to mobilize the wisdom and talents of the more than 20 million cadres and fully develop the positive outlook of the vast mass of cadres and the third is a reliance on the extraordinarily far-sighted long-range plan for the growth of our next generation. Comrade Hu Yaobang noted that the strengthening of a healthy political life is one of the most important factors in realizing the goal of the four modernizations and elevated it to a very important position. At present, while we have been in the process of reforming the economic setup, of stressing the purging of the obsolete "leftists" and of advancing a step in liberating thought, the strengthening of healthy political life has taken on an especially important meaning. There can be no liberation in thought without a healthy political life. If we are unable to advance a step to liberate thought, we cannot talk of reform, and the realization of the four modernizations would be impossible.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee has adopted a series of wise and correct measures to implement a large amount of work in bringing order out of chaos and in restoring and developing the party's good traditions. The Central Committee has fully restored its normal political life, so that the vast mass of cadres and masses can perceive the hope of the country and race and have their confidence and strength enhanced, thus winning the happy heartfelt and warm support of the 1 billion people. However, a comparatively serious unhealthy party workstyle still exists a cartain areas, certain places and certain components and even in the certain content of certain leadership levels. The party's normal estitical to a hope that the

and a situation where one person alone lays down the law and one person alone has the say and does not listen to dissenting opinions, especially those of opposition. There are even jealousy toward the wise and the competent and censure and even suppression of comrades who dare speak the truth and bring up dissension and who are brave in making reforms. Yet on the other hand, key positions are given to the obsequious who do not want to accomplish anything. Under this circumstance, many cadres have become confined and restricted in spirit, lack the courage and the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, speak and perform, dare not speak out from their hearts and are unable to say fully what they want to say. The positive outlook and initiative of some cadres are thus seriously suppressed. This situation must attract our serious attention, and the lifeless situation must be speedily broken. Only in this way can our thinking become active and our work lively.

The unhealthy life in the party is one of the basic reasons for chaos in the political life of the party and of the state and for the slow, even stagnant, development of our economy. We can clearly see from reviewing the struggles of several decades that whenever there was a healthy political life, the people would work in a united and happy way and cooperate to boycott and oppose all kinds of wrong things, and liveliness would appear in the development of various enterprises. When political life was unhealthy, it would bring about serious catastrophes which would result from the influx of various wrong things growing out of chaos, the people's inability and unwillingness to speak out fully and their desire to keep quiet or echo what others say. Therefore, during the current party rectification and the implementation of the decisions of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and based on the key points of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech on the work in Shaanxi, we should conscientiously discuss and solve the problem of strengthening normal political life. To achieve the goal of ideological unity and organizational purification in party rectification, we must rely on a healthy political life. If only one person has the say, various opinions will not be expressed, the guidance thought in professional work can hardly become desirable, the thinking cannot be truly uniform and "the three kinds of people" will not be thoroughly eliminated. For strengthening the discipline examination work of the party and for propelling the basic improvement in the party's workstyle, we should, aside from investigating and handling the cases and implementing discipline, pay attention to restoring a healthy political life, so that constant supervision and criticism can be implemented against the various undesirable workstyles. To consolidate the accomplishment of party rectification, the reliance on a healthy political life is the most important. It is therefore said that a healthy political life is a very important prerequisite in eliminating obsolete "leftists," liberating thought and propelling reform in the economic setup, and it is also a very important task in party rectification.

The key to strengthening a healthy political life lies in the enlightenment of the party committees of various levels and the leadership comrades of various fronts. We should encourage all to speak out fully without reservation, especially the dissenting ones. We should humbly accept various criticisms and suggestions. We should support and give key positions to those cadres who have independent views and a creative spirit and are bold in reform. We should truly act to depend not on superiors nor on books but on facts. We should create a democratic atmosphere of discussing and studying issues on an equal basis. The truth can only develop in this atmosphere, and talent can be discovered and can grow only in this atmosphere. Only if we can construct our party organizations of various levels into lively socialist modernization construction headquarters and into the rear service headquarters for serving enterprises, the grassroots stratum, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, we will certainly be able to create a new prospect for work in Shaanxi Province.

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#### BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY FOR AGED -- A university for the aged in Ningxia was founded and opened on 12 November 1984. The founding of this university has been approved by the party committee of the autonomous region. This university offers a total of eight special courses including sanitation and health, physical education, nutrition, horticulture, calligraphy, fine arts, history and geography and natural science. Students may voluntarily select one or several of these special courses. The length of schooling is 2 years. After the completion of the required courses, a diploma will be issues. A total of 204 students have already enrolled this year. The majority of them are veteran comrades who joined the Revolution prior to Liberation and are now on the second or third front. Of these students, the oldest is 79 years of age. This university will engage professors, lecturers, medical doctors and technicians of educational and scientific research units to teach them. Li Xuezhi [2621 1331 2535] and Hao Tingzao [6786 1694 5679], secretary and deputy secretary of the party committee of the autonomous region, and Xue Hongfu [5641 1347 4395], chairman of the advisory committee of the autonomous region, participated in and spoke at the opening ceremony of the university. Xue Hongfu is concurrently president of the university. Vice presidents of the university are Yang Xin [2799 6580], Ma Dengchuan [7456 4098 1557], Ma Sai [7456 6347] and Zhang Shizhen [1728 1102 3791]. [Text] [Yinchuang NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 84 p 1]

#### MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

CONSTRUCTION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN OPEN AREAS SUPPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Liu Nanchang [0491 0589 2490]: "Guangzhou Military Region CPC Committee Takes Support for Construction in Open Areas as Important Components of Party Rectification"]

[Text] During party rectification, the CPC committee of the Guangzhou Military Region, in compliance with the requirements of the overall situation of state economic construction, energetically supported opening up localities to foreign nations, adjusted military installations and military production and adopted a variety of services to assist the construction of open areas and international economic activities.

The Guangzhou Military Region has within its jurisdiction the three special economic zones of Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou; the three open cities of Guangzhou, Zhanjiang and Beihai; and the Hainan Island Economic Development Zone. During party rectification, the CPC committee of the Guangzhou Military Region made the study of thoroughly implementing the party's policy of opening up to foreign nations and the support for the economic construction of open areas as the important components of rectification and reform. The standing committee of the CPC committee, after having conscientiously studied and comprehended the guidance and policy of the CPC Central Committee in opening up China to foreign nations, held discussions with the leadership comrades of the CPC Guangdong provincial committee, visited the localities and humbly listened to the opinions from all quarters and recognized that the implementation of the policy of opening up China to foreign nations is an important strategic decision in the four modernizations construction and that the work of the armed forces should be subservient to the overall situation and should energetically support the opening up of localities to foreign nations. Although the armed forces have during the past done some work in this respect, yet due to the incomplete elimination of the "leftist" influence, there existed the ideological obstacle of "having nothing to do with myself" and "fearing that the armed forces would suffer." Consequently, the support was not energetic enough, and there was still a great distance from the goal in this work to be overcome.

The CPC committee of the military region and the leadership organs, against the existing problems, summoned a special on-the-spot study meeting of the leadership cadres of the regimental level and stood up for unifying ideological cognition and conscientiously purging and amending all the documents and regulations that were not beneficial to opening up China to foreign nations. At the same time, within the scope of its responsibilities, based on the principle of facilitating and benefiting the construction and international economic activities and of not jeopardizing frontier defense construction, it appropriately handled the questions involving restricted military areas, military installations and military production by giving up, reducing in size or sharing with others wherever possible. In Shenzhen and Zhuhai alone, more than 300 military installations made available large tracts of land for facilitating the attraction of foreign capital in operating factories and shops and in establishing tourist areas. Some defense islands near the mouth of the Pearl River removed their ban on the entry of guests and merchants and helped the locality establish nine joint enterprises with other nations.

The CPC committee of the Guangzhou Military Region also advanced one step toward liberating thought by organizing the armed forces to serve in various forms the construction and the international economic activities of the open areas. Since this year, the armed forces have invested more than 400,000 workdays for more than 300 types of key engineering and emergency danger work. Besides the support in manpower and material, they have also brought into play the strong points of the armed forces in demolition, communications, surveying and civil engineering to provide technical support. Furthermore, they have also launched a contract labor system to provide support in the service activities. At present, an absolute majority of the military hospitals, guest houses, dining halls, theaters, ball-playing grounds and swimming areas has been opened to the local people. The large-scale military farms in Tonghu and Niutianyang have become the agricultural by-product production bases of the special zones, thus helping to make the markets in the special zones abundant.

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### EXPOSURE OF BUREAUCRATISM IN JIANGSU PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Gong Yongquan [7895 3057 3123]: "The Party Committee of the Jiangsu Provincial Economic and Trade Department Seriously Exposes and Investigates Bureaucratism"]

[Text] The economic and trade department of Jiangsu Province, during its party rectification, has exposed and investigated bureaucratism in its business management, mobilized the masses to analyze the causes, recognized the harm and adopted measures to improve workstyle and enhance foreign trade work substantially. Up to the end of September, this department had already accomplished its export planning task for the whole year, and there was a big increase in exports and procurements when compared with those of the same period last year.

On 26 February of this year this newspaper had reported the incident of dumping rotten potatoes in the sea by the Cereal, Edible Oil and Foodstuffs Import-Export Company of this department, the serious and strict handling of this case by the provincial discipline examination commission and the decision of the party organization of this department to expose during party rectification the serious bureaucratism in its business management. Up to the present, this department has uncovered 115 cases of all kinds involving responsibility, among which 35 were grave ones. In accordance with the request of the CPC provincial committee and the Ministry of Economic and Trade Affairs, they organized a force to check and process each case to the extent that each is accountable.

All the losses were retrieved wherever possible. In clearing receivable international accounts and unsettled domestic accounts, this department collected more than \$5.3 million and more than 4 million yuan. An inventory work team was sent to check the merchandise in the warehouses, for the purpose of positively pushing the sale of exportable merchandise and the speedy sale of merchandise that could not be exported but was still salable on the domestic market. Up to the present, 150 million yuan worth of merchandise have been diverted to the domestic market.

This department took the establishment of a healthy system of regulation as an important measure for conquering bureaucratism. It reiterated the implementation of the existing regulations and started to work on new regulations if there were none for it to comply with. For example, the Provincial Cereal, Edible Oil and Foodstuffs Branch Company, based on the lesson learned from dumping rotten potatoes in the sea, formulated a regulation for the multilevel management of the process from procurement to export; the Provincial Five Mineral Ore Branch Company established a contract control system to cope with the situation of high costs and bad management; and the Provincial Textile Product Branch Company established an invoice receipt system to cope with the numerous errors in invoices. All these systems have begun to show results after implementation.

Through the previous stage of party rectification, the vast number of cadres and employees belonging to the Jiangsu provincial economic and trade department system had their sense of responsibility enhanced and were able to handle in a timely and conscientious manner any problem that was discovered. At present, many leadership comrades penetrate into the grassroots stratum to investigate, study, work at the site and solve questions on the spot. Many professional staff officers take the initiative to visit the factories to examine the quality of goods for export, to help the adjustment in production and to insure the fulfillment on time and the quality of the contracts.

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METHODS OF CADRE SELECTION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Shi Jiao [4258 6037]: "Personal Files and Impressions Cannot Be Solely Relied on in the Selection of Cadres"]

[Text] According to newspaper reports, the CPC committee of the Air Force believes that middle-aged and young cadres possessing the spirit of reform emerge from practice and that it is inaccurate to rely on personal files and impressions alone in making the selection, which requires penetration into the armed forces for investigation. This recognition shows sound judgment.

This reminds me of an article I read not long ago in CHINESE MILITIA in which one of the "two Wang's"—criminal Wang Zongwei [3769 1350 3837]—used only 1 punctuation mark and misspelled 7 characters in writing a letter of 400 characters. Yet such an ignorant and incompetent person was appraised by an absolute majority as a model of "socialist spiritual civilization" at his plant in January 1983, 1 month before he was exposed. The reasons were that Wang Zongwei was skillful in making pretences and presented to his workshop chief and some old masters a very good impression and that the cadres and workers of the workshop selected their "model worker" by these impressions.

The "good impression" Wang Zongwei gave to the people was actually a false impression totally opposite of his intrinsic qualities. How can we expect to make a perfect selection of "model workers" by relying on impressions alone? Some people may say that the workshop chief neglected to review Wang Zongwei's personal file; actually, it would have been of no use to do so, because the appraisal of him at the end of his service must have been good. However, if the cadres in the workshop where Wang worked did an overall examination instead of relying on impressions, they would have easily discovered that Wang's actual literary level was very low and that his character was not too good; as such he would not have been selected "model worker of spiritual civilization."

Although the standards of good cadres and advanced personages are different, the rationale for selecting cadres and electing advanced personages is the same, which is why people who are not qualified cannot be selected. The fact that Wang Zongwei was once elected a "model worker of civilization" effectively explains why we cannot merely rely on reviewing personal files and on impressions in appraising and electing advanced personages, much less in selecting good middle-aged and young cadres for leadership posts, lest it give an opportunity for smooth and eloquent operators of no virtue and no morals to take advantage of a situation.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

#### JIANG NAN'S MURDER CASE DISCUSSED

Repercussions of Jiang Nan's Murder

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 12, Dec 84 pp 30-32

[Article by Yuan Chen-sheng [5913 2182 5116]: "The Repercussions and Dark Shadows of the Jiang Nan Case"]

[Text] Jiang Nan's [3068 0589] murder has spread terror in America's Chinese communities and made people ever more cautious. Blood and death should startle people awake. First, we must restore to Jiang Nan his true colors, and next, we urge the authorities to make a thorough investigation.

It has been more than a month since Jiang Nan was murdered. The case has not been solved, yet interest has gradually waned. Nevertheless, the atmsophere of terror created among the Chinese intelligentsia has not only persisted, but are making people ever more cautious. Those concerned over the civil rights of the Chinese appealed to the FBI and demanded hearings. Without doubt, it is an incident and a trend attracting the greatest attention among America's Chinese intelligentsia in recent days.

What Kind of Writer Was Jiang Nan?

I had read Jiang Nan's occasional articles in CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI (formerly CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI), but I had never met him. Only after the murder did I discover that he wrote for the "Daily Comment" column in San Francisco's SHIH-TAI PAO [THE TIMES]. I located and read both editions of his "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo," published under the pseudonym of "Ting I" in a previous year, and its recent revised edition.

Since Jiang Nan is dead, what we must do is to give a proper position to a historical figure. Obviously, he was not a great writer, and nor was the "Biography," which aroused a great deal of controversy and was considered the cause of his murder, a great enduring work. Its first version is of an informal nature. Though with the addition of much

information and numerous annotations, the revised edition published by the California LUN-T'AN PAO [TRIBUNE] is much more stringent than the previous edition and possesses a referential value, it cannot be called a work of scholarly level. Only his unfortunate death has made Jiang Nan an author of international fame. This is a fact.

Nevertheless, judging from the two editions of the "Biography" and the articles scattered in the newspapers and periodicals in America and Hong Kong in the past decade or more, we can see that he was an intellectual determined to find the truth and unafraid to challenge himself of the past. The course followed by him, from his origin in the political work system of the Kuomintang [hereinafter abbreviated as KMT] to his article on "the China Which Crosses the Mountains to Advance" in the November issue of this periodical, reflects his pursuit of the true colors of the country. However, he was not a writer who attempted to gain political capital by flattery. Rather than deliberately trying to embarrass the KMT, he made use of his spare time from business to write articles and expose its scar tissues because these were the figures and events of which he was most familiar with. Had he originated from Communist China, one believes that, in view of his temperament, he would have vigorously and ruthlessly castigated its dark side too.

His works of later years, including the revised "Biography" and "Reminiscences of Wu Kuo-chen at 80" published in HSIA CH'AO [SUMMER TIDE], indicate that he was in the course of raising his own historiographic level and abandoning the practice of writing "informal histories" by relying on rumors and hearsays. He was unlike those "old newspapermen" who rely on their connections, live an old capital and concoct sensational and popular articles. Though he had an unusual background, he studied assiduously and wrote, from his own unique angle, about people and events not commonly known. He was different from most Chinese scholars in America who are indifferent to the national affairs of America and the welfare of the Chinese-Americans. His short comments in SHIH-TAI PAO contained many discussions of America's political situation and the problems of the Chinese-Americans, arousing the interest and sympathetic response of those who had had personal experience. Of course, in his writing, Jiang Nan told many inside stories of the KMT army, government and secret service system and made many open and secret enemies, which might have ultimately led to his murder.

Though Jiang Nan ruthlessly exposed the dark side of KMT's bureaucracy, he was not a "Leftist" in the overseas tradition. While supporting the reunification of China, he did not parrot the words of those like the so-called "unification faction" or unconditionally endorse Beijing's united front drive. After his death, among American and Hong Kong newspapers and presses, the media controlled by the KMT completely brushed aside his highly political nature and made no mention at all of the "Biography," while the Communist Chinese propaganda machine exaggerated his "concern" for "peaceful unification." Judged from Jiang Nan's works, the images created by both sides are not authentic. To understand the shock of his death felt by the overseas Chinese intelligentsia, we must first restore to him his true colors.

Facts Surrounding the Murder

After the initial shock of his murder had passed, all his friends and readers had one question in mind: Who killed Jiang Nan?

No one can say for usre that he was killed by KMT secret agents. To date, police investigation has reached no conclusion. However, the following are facts and can serve as some bases of our assessments.

Within a week of the murder, the police eliminated robbery or blackmail as the motive, and the remaining greatest possibility is political assassination. In fact, the police has long entertained the idea.

American authorities do not treat Jiang Nan's death as a simple murder case. On the third day after the murder, the FBI and the Security Section of the State Department formally intervened and rendered aid to the police in its investigations. The focus of the investigations made by the two federal organs is whether Taiwan's KMT government was involved. Though the State Department spokesman, when questioned by reporters, declared that "no information indicates the implication of the Taiwan authorities in this case," he did not say that they were not implicated, but only that there was no information of such.

Jiang Nan's widow and all his relatives and friends feel that the murder was a political assassination. No sign of robbery or burglary was found at Jiang Nan's residence, the scene of the crime. His gift shop at the Fishermen's Whart in San Francisco's tourist district did no business with the Chinese, and he seldom had dealings with them. There had never been any extortion by Chinese gangs. On the other hand, the two murderers time and again surveyed the murder site, only acted after careful planning and were neat and efficient in their action. Such a high degree of premeditation also enhances the likelihood of a political assassination. On the 5th day after the murder, Daly City police detective Mai ka xi [phonetic], the detective in charge, publicly announced: "Currently, the focus of the investigation is almost entirely concentrated on 'an incident of political murder by paid killers.'" According to a United Press wire, an FBI spokesman also said on the same day: "We only hope that no terrorists or radical organizations come here to assassinate journalists or diplomats. It might possibly have been an assassination conspiracy."

The facts surrounding the murder discussed above were all reported by the Associated Press, United Press, WASHINGTON POST, and SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE. As a matter of fact, ever since the murder, America's media directly pointed to the direction of political assassination and its possible connection with the KMT. KMT's SHIH-CHIEN JIH-PAO [WORLD JOURNAL] in America suppressed all the reports discussed above, mentioning not one word. Though CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO [CHINA TIMES], which stopped publication a few days ago, was more honest, it diluated the reports to a large extent, enhancing the feeling that "this place does not have 300 taels of silver." One believes that Hong Kong's rightist papers

are following the same practice. Regrettably, leftist papers "condemned" the murder in large headlines and mobilized well-known figures on the Chinese mainland to express their views. They seemed to be rendering a disservice. I do not know whether TA-KUNG and WEN-HUI reported the facts to reveal the truth to the relatively uninformed people of Hong Kong, but even if they did, the reports were probably covered under political propaganda, creating a resistant effect among the readers. Nevertheless, in another aspect, it will be just as regrettable if we, because of our disgust with the Leftist papers, refuse to look squarely at the significance of Jiang Nan's murder and its blow on the Chinese intelligentsia.

### Deductions of Most People

After the murder, everyone tried to guess the identity of the murderers. The mouths of the people cannot be sealed. The conjectures in the media reports cannot be called "public opinion judgments." Providing relevant factual background is highly necessary and the responsibility of the press, and it cannot be called "information evidence." The police suspicion of political assassination and it's the doing of "KMT secret servic agents" suspected by Jiang Nan's widow, all his friends and concerned strangers are not groundless, but deductions based on the background of the murder and the course of the act. Though not necessarily accurate, the degree of their credibility at least far surpasses other conjectures.

Suddenly for some unknown reason, a Leftist professor in Eastern United States openly spoke up for the KMT, not only "advocating a fair treatment of the nationalist government," but suggesting the possibility that the murder was committed by "anti-government terrorists" (referring to those advocating Taiwan's independence) to put the blame on it and "discredit" it. The moment his article appeared, large numbers of readers wrote letters to give him a tongue-lashing, making it impossible for him to ward off the blows. Readers brought up the cases of Shih Liang-ts'ai, Yang Yung-t'ai, Li Kung-p'u and Wen I-tuo. Naturally, people also mentioned the tragedy of Lin I'hsiung's mother and daughter and the Ch'en Wen-ch'eng case. Undeniably, KMT's record of assassinations is fairly lengthy.

# Chinese Intelligentsia Engulfed in Terror

From the reactions of America's Chinese intelligentsia, one can see the obvious impact of "killing the chicken to warn the monkey" created by the murder case. The evil hands of politics seem to have crossed the ocean to invade the Chinese cultural and news communities which have always taken America's freedom of speech for granted. Making comments in whispers, people feel terrified and alarmed, but not many are willing or dare to openly denounce the act of political assassination or take actions which may not help but are better than nothing. Jiang Nan's friends organized a funeral committee to handle his affairs, but

from the papers, only Professor Wang Ling-chih of California University in Berkeley in the committee agreed to have his name in the papers. The statuses of all others, whether before or after the funeral, were not published. Jiang Nan's East Coast friends originally planned to hold a memorial service, but for whatever reason, there was no follow-up.

Not long ago, we read in the papers about the formation of the "Committee to Seek Justice for Jiang Nan" for the purpose of putting pressure on U.S. judicial authorities, but again, Professor Wang Ling-chih was the only one in the committee whose name was published. It is worthwhile to mention that he came from Hong Kong and has no personal connections in Taiwan, nor family members there. Teaching in a famous American university, settling his roots in America and possessing a professional base, naturally he has less concern about political retaliation. NEW YORK TIMES senior reporter Fox Butterfield reported in early November that Jiang Nan's murder case has spread an atmosphere of terror among America's Chinese communities. Yeh Yun-yun, publisher of TAIWAN YU SHIH-CHIEH [TAIWAN AND THE WORLD], which published Jiang Nan's posthumous articles, told Butterfield that she could find no one to write comments on the case.

Protecting Chinese Civil Rights and Demanding Investigation

Fortunately, there are still people unwilling to remain silent. Professor Wang Ling-chih, the Chinese Rights Association of a San Francisco Chinese civil rights organization, and the Northern California branch of the ACLU all wrote the Justice Department demanding a thorough investigation. The ACLU's open letter stated: "It appears that Liu's (Jiang Nan's) murder was because of his exercise of the rights protected under the First Amendment (freedom of speech).... Only a thorough investigation by the FBI and putting the murderer under the sanction of law will the American-Chinese and all Americans know definitely that their freedoms of speech and press are protected by the federal government." In addition, many congressmen, including Edward Kennedy, openly expressed concern and appealed to the federal government for an intensive investigation.

Though independent, the American judicial system is, to a large extent, influenced by political factors, and there is no such thing as waiting quietly for the Justice authorities to take the initiative in investigation. The police, FBI and State Department, from the lowest local courts to the Supreme Court, all have the potential of negligence and derelection, concealing evidence, inappropriate handling of affairs, lack of diligence in investigation or lack of impartiality in trying cases. At every link, the people have the rights of supervision and participation. The Ch'en Kuo-jen case is an example. In other words, if the Jiang Nan case is to be cleared up, we cannot stand on the sidelines. We must arouse the interest of the Chinese and the American society, pressure the authorities and demand an investigation by the government with the maximum capacity and maximum manpower.

In terms of protecting the freedoms of speech and the press, seeking the serious attention and intervention of the federal authorities and the congress, making investigations and holding hearings constitute the direction of endeavor. The "Committee to Seek Justice for Jiang Nan" has launched a fund-raising drive and is planning to publish his post-humous works in volumes. Widely circulating his works exposing the dark side of the authorities is an effective counterattack on the terrorists. We hope that writers and scholars with a sense of justice will carry on Jiang Nan's unfulfilled aspirations and complete and publish the "Biography of Lung Yun" and "Biography of Wu Kuo-chen." We further hope that more writers, whether on the mainland or in Taiwan, will continue to use history as the tool of criticism and serve notice on the rulers. "We cannot let Jiang Nan's blood be shed in vain." These are words of platitude, but is it conceivable that even blood and death cannot shock awake this apathetic and hesitant generation?

### Difficult To Avenge the Injustice Done to Jiang Nan

A scroll at his public memorial service read: "The Death of Jiang Nan Is at Eternal Injustice." Though I remain optimistic about the effort of the living for justice, I deeply fear, at the bottom of my heart, that the injustice is perhaps bound to be left unavenged. In a sense, the cases of Jiang Nan, Ch'en Wen-ch'eng and Ch'en Kuo-jen all rocked people's hearts and shocked the Chinese communities. However, as Jiang Nan's background was unique, it is impossible for his death to stir up a widespread movement like the Ch'en Wen-ch'eng and Ch'en Kuo-jen cases.

As Ch'en Wen-ch'eng was a Taiwan native, enthusiastic people of his hometown exerted themselves on his behalf. Highly organized, and with a financial base and experience in American politics, the Taiwan people launched propaganda and fund drives on his behalf, making the KMt authorities worried waking or sleeping even today and furnishing, by means of the Ch'en Wen-ch'eng case, effective support to the democratic movement in Taiwan. The Ch'en Kuo-jen case aroused the response of the Chinese-Americans who made vigorous appeals for him, stirred up a nationwide Chinese civil rights movement, and finally won intervention by the Justice Department. The previously lightly sentenced murderers were charged with civil rights violations, the case was reversed, and one of them was severely sentenced. Nevertheless, Jiang Nan was not a native of Taiwan and had no blood relations in America to plead his case. As his murder involved Chinese political factors, native-born [Chinese-] Americans are not interested, the immigrant Chinese society wishes to distance itself, and the Chinese writers who knew him best are, due to their unfamiliarity with American politics, unorganized. Currently, the people who give him most public recognition are those who are pro-Communist China, i.e., the so-called "patriotic" or "Leftist" circles. However, these so-called "patriotic figures" lack organizational strength and are split by disunity. Many of them have money, but are unwilling to spend large sums like the Taiwanese in America.

One may say that the movement to seek justice for Jiang Nan has no readymade mass base here. It is where our pessimism lies. But it is also for this reason that Wang Ling-chih, the Chinese Rights Association and some others deserve our respect.

### Jiang's Nan Personal History

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 12, Dec 84 pp 33-35

[Article by Li Nai-i [2621 0035 5030]: "Jiang Nan, a Likable Person"]

[Text] Jiang Nan made a wide circle of friends and was candid and straightforward. He was born in a time of turmoil, and his father was assassinated when he was 10 years old. He went to Taiwan alone at 17 years of age. He attended the cadre school, was a deserting officer, worked as a reporter, and opened a small business in America. He wrote whatever he thought was right. Such was Jiang Nan.

There was only one Jiang Nan in the world, and such a likable person too. He made friends all over the world because of his kind heart, unaffected warmth and irrepressible candor. His sensitivity was the product of the turbulent Chinese society and his optimism and humor were tempered in fending for himself since childhood.

If there is such a thing as soul, I believe Jiang Nan must be scolding sneeringly. "Damn it, how stupid can they be to make a mistake like this, ai, ai, ai...."

### Father's Assassination

A native of Jiangsu's Jiangjiang, Jiang Nan was born on 7 December 1932 to a rural landowner family. He only discovered his exact date of birth 2 years ago.

Jiangjiang in northern Jiangsu was not, as indicated by its name, peaceful. Long plunged into the furnace of the times, the county became a miniature of the struggles between the KMT and communists. Caught in between the New Fourth Army and the KMT troops, the common people cautiously sought survival. "Politics" eventually spread its influence to China's rural areas where "heaven is high and the emperor far away." Jiang Nan's father, owner of a fractional mu of farmland, became a member of organizations like the "peace preservation corps."

Perhaps it happened in 1942, when Jiang Nan was still a semi-ignorant child. In a freezing early morning, after his father went out by himself a short distance from the house, two shots were heard. Jiang Nan, the oldest son, dashed out and saw his father's body on the frozen dirt

path, fatally shot in the head. The scene was deeply engraved in the child's heart. More than once he described the scene of his father's assassination and the reactions of the family. They believed that it was the deed of the native communists. "Ah, my dad fought with many communists. Villagers did not know the difference between the KMT and the communist party. They were like devils fighting each other!"

All his life Jiang Nan was not accustomed to living by himself. He claimed that he did not believe in ghosts and gods or conjurers, but he was afraid to be alone. His father's death was always on his mind. Fate indeed plays tricks on people.

In 1980, after having been away for more than 30 years, Jiang Nan returned to his home village. To his surprise, in northern Jiangsu, which was the first to undergo land reform, none of his siblings was punished for their landowner "origin." Somewhat later, his second younger brother came to America, but, after 2 years, he resolutely went home to be a farmer. How pure and simple are the common people of China! Jinag Nan's childlike heart fermented. He derided and taunted the "native cadres" of Jiangjiang: "One by one they went into hiding, afraid to see me. I am pretty certain that my dad was killed by this gang. Actually, I have seen through everything. The two sides killing each other, and the common people are the ones to suffer." Meanwhile, he remarked with relish: "I saw Shu Yu when I was little. A highranking officer! The imposing manner was different! I saw him when the Red Army attacked the village. An officer with nothing to say. He never became a commander-in-chief. Ah, only old Mao liked to play politics...."

Jiang Nan finally had his "revenge" when he went to China in 1984. The evening he returned to San Francisco, he laughed heartily and said to me: "The Jiangjiang county and rural cadres all came to give me a 'warm welcome!' Ha, ha, ha.... I remembered many of them...."

He was indeed a good man with a soft heart. The changes in China, the survival of the nation and his home village, and the deep sense of history, plus his Western training of seeking truth from facts, made his criticisms of anyone and anything merely searches for the truth, full of curiosity, free from antagonism or malice, and always ready to accept corrections.

After returning from America to his home village, Jiang Nan's second younger brother became a "10,000-yuan household." To him it was a great comfort. His first younger brother is in the course of completing the procedures to come to America.

### Adrift Alone in Taiwan

After Jiang Nan's father was killed, his grandfather placed this "unruly boy" under strict discipline, which lasted for 5 or 6 years, thereby laying a foundation for his knowledge of Chinese. Still care-free and

easy-going as an adolescent, Jiang Nan liked to listen to the birds and watch the fish. He kept his interest throughout his lifetime. Actually not very brave, he was easily frightened by a vicious face or a big dog.

In 1948, the KMT initiated a reform in the style of "politics in command." The expropriation of gold and silver certificates led to skyrocketing inflation. Immediately, the KMT launched a compulsory "economic control." Several hundred li away, the formerly fairly well-to-do Liu family had to hunt for food outside. The 16-year old Jiang Nan walked with his mother all the way to the town of Gushan. A kind-hearted fellow villager told them that only in the rural areas would they be able to find some grain. Because of his intuitive unwillingness to return to the village controlled by the native communists, Jiang Nan made the first major decision of his life. Saying farewell to his mother, he took his first younger brother with him and went south. He had no idea of where the future lay. Racked with hunger upon arriving at Suchou, he falsified his age and got into the KMT army to become a soldier. In barely a few months, he was fed up with army life. In the evening when, together with a friend, he was all packed and ready to escape, he suddenly heard that the communist troops had crossed the river. Changing his mind, he decided to stay with the unit. "When the enemy advances, we retreat; when the enemy tires, we run." After numerous twists and turns, the unit was "transferred" to Shanghai. Still a boy, Jiang Nan was unable to care for his first younger brother and had to send the latter back to the village. The unit boarded the ship, and from them on, Jiang Nan, all alone, was adrift in Taiwan.

As proved afterward, Jiang Nan indeed had an amazing stamina and a courageous initiative. He had no elementary school, middle school or college diploma, and the first and only regular diploma he received was an "MA from the American University." By then, he was over 40 years of age and the father of two.

He had a fortuitous encounter on the ship. He liked to read papers, and his interest in new things, politics and people was not only greatly developed, but also brought him much benefit. He and a senior officer discussed everything under the sun on the ship's deck and became friends. The officer was pleased that the KMT army recruited such a talent, and made him a captain on the spot. A 17-year old captain coming from nowhere was truly amazing!

A little more than a year after he became a captain, the ship arrived at Taiwan, and the unit was reorganized. As Jiang Nan had no background and was young, he was, after much deliberation, demoted to first lieutenant. But no matter what, he was an officer.

### A "Confessed Deserting Officer"

Having undergone hardships of all kinds and learned the ways of the world, Jiang Nan was precocious. After he struggled between life and death and for his family, survival and self-sufficiency, Taiwan became a

big classroom for the maturing Jiang Nan. In the 18 years between 1949 and 1967, there were many breathtaking scenes of danger as well as numerous romantic interests. Besides environment, that Jiang Nan was able to develop a candid and bright personality could only be attributed to natural endowment.

Aware that he was not fit for army life, Jiang Nan wanted to get into the airforce to do political work. He knew that, in the changing world, he must rely on knowledge. Thereupon, he studied on his own and passed the entrance test to the political work cadre school. Not interested in secret service, he majored in drama. The moment he discovered that he would not be assigned to the work unit he wanted, he deliberately initiated a quarrel with the team leader. At the graduation ceremony of the cadre school, he got himself "expelled." Unwilling to wear the uniform, he became a "deserting officer." In an age when people were killed like ants, he casually followed his own ways. For freedom, he was audacious to the extreme.

He became lucky in 1954, running into the former military law officer Sung Yun-lan, who befriended him on the ship, and Fu Cheng (former editor of TZU-YU CHUNG-KUO [FREE CHINA], who understood him. These warm friends ran around for him, and the "deserting officer" made a "voluntary confession." He was sentenced to " $2\frac{1}{2}$  years of probation" and "discharged from service." As a logical sequence, he turned in his uniform and became a good citizen. Thus he gambled and won his second major decision. Not until afterward did he feel a chill.

In the 1 year or more as a "deserting officer," the sincere and sympathetic Hsiao T'ung not only took him in, but gave him a space in the publication, helping to edit the supplement—probably the TA-HUA WAN-PAO [TA-HUA EVENING NEWS]. After receiving his identity card, he joined the "Taiwan Film Making Plant." In better financial circumstances, he got married, had a son, accepted a program from the "Cheng-sheng Broadcasting Station" and acquired a much-admired motorcycle. He was divorced in 1959, 3 years after his marriage.

### Going Abroad

Regaining his status as a "freeman" and raising a child, Jiang Nan had no academic diploma, but luckily he did have some social experience. Though not well-to-do, he was not in want. On every routine working day, Jiang Nan, like other men in their thirties, asked him: "Is this the life I want for myself?" After seeing all the changes in the world, he no longer believed that the KMT truly wanted to rise again on this tiny island. Everything seemed to be playacting.

The 30-year old Jiang Nan again faced a choice. He met a beautiful and innocent Ts'ui Jung-chih, a student who had just graduated from the Taipei Second Girls' School and passed the entrance test to the Political University. Making him feel both stimulated and embarrassed, she encouraged him to take the college entrance test and helped him with

his studies. Under very difficult circumstances, he studied English on his own and made up his mind to go abroad. With Ts'ui Jung-chih's help, he passed the test for the night school of Teachers University and worked during the day as a reporter for the newly established TAIWAN-JIH-PAO.

To a single person in Taiwan, "going abroad" was not easily accomplished. Just the problem of "sponsors" alone was not a simple matter, let alone the fact that Jiang Nan had a record of "arrogance and impertinence." He worked hard and, relying on his keen sense of news and eagerness to learn, he rapidly became a pillar of the newspaper. His foundation in the English language created an opportunity for him, and he asked, as a test of the authorities, for an assignment as a reporter stationed in Hong Kong. After being assigned to Hong Kong, he succeeded in obtaining assignments to Manila and then Saigon. Going straight to the point, he requested the newspaper office to send him to Washington as a special correspondent.

He declared: "Studying English and finding the way to leave Taiwan were things which took the most patience in my whole life."

In 1967, Hsia Hsiao-hua, the head of the newspaper office, approved his request, and the newspaper office handled the required procedure on his behalf. Jiang Nan immediately wanted to bring Ts'ui Jung-chih, who had consistently stood by him for 5 years, with him, and they were married. A few months after arriving at Washington, Jiang Nan sent for his bride and his son.

He informed me: "Having a family is always a worry, but one has to accept it if one runs into someone who is truly good to one." As a man tempered in difficulties, he was not only romantic, but also somewhat chauvinist. Nevertheless, his feelings for his wife and family were extremely obvious.

Gathering Friends Like Rolling a Snowball

Like an unreined horse, he felt his freedom in the New World. His life as a Washington correspondent could be deemed colorful. Except those who were indifferent to world affairs, all influential bureaucrats, scholars and students from Taiwan had contact with him. Those like the masters of the Twin Oaks Shen Chien-hung and Chou Shu-k'ai had to go through the motions with him. Such incompetent bureaucrats were afraid of his pen. Sung Ch'u-yu and Wen Ha'hsiung, prior to becoming high ranking officials, were his frequent visitors. He had even more friends among the writers, and frequently mentioned Fu Chien-chung, Shih K'o-min, Hsu Ch'i-ming, Fang Ping-feng and Lin Kuo-ch'iang.

He opened a gift shop after 1972. In 1978, he moved his family to San Francisco and started a mold-making ceramics shop. Like rolling a snowball, he gathered more and more friends, and his wife was kept busy cooking. People like Ch'en Chih-p'ing, Yu Kuo-chi, Ch'en Jo-hsi, Ch;en Kuying, Chin Heng-wei, Ch'en Min, Yuan Ta-jen... all the

"discontents," and Hsiao Ch'ien, Wu Tsu-kuang, and Wang Meng from mainland China all gathered in his unpretentious "cottage" and casually discussed all subjects. Even the transit experts, such as Hu Chin-ch'uan, Po Yang and Yuan Ta-fang, whether newly acquainted or old friends, gathered around him and always managed to see him whenever they came to town.

Jiang Nan's candor, love of variety and eagerness to help were well-known. It would have been surprising if a man like him did not have many friends.

Perhaps it was the playful spirit which had been pent up in his child-hood that made Jiang Nan tell jokes and play tricks endlessly. Wanting to have something to eat, he went to the Golden Gate Park to stroke the ducks, and returned home after finding them too tough. Seeing a pretty girl, he pointed at his single friend and made everyone blush by saying: "Miss, he says that you are very beautiful and he has to invite you for dinner today...." At a busy restaurant where the customers were lined up, he quietly hanged up the "Closed" sign. When reprimanded, he argued: "You can't handle all the business anyway. Share some with others." People often did not know whether to laugh or to cry over his trucks. This aged "unruly boy" always remained at ease and justified, as if nothing had happened.

"Asking No Favors of People and Unafraid of Offending Them"

It was in 1969 that Jiang Nan lost all illusions about the KMT.

Studying international politics in the American University, he, as a student, actually received a grant to study Southeastern Asian politics. During his short stopover in Taipei in transit to Southeast Asia, he was tipped off by a friend working in the General Police Bureau. The latter exclaimed: "How come you are still here?" Reportedly, he offended an official in the Taiwan embassy in Washington, and the latter sent an unfavorable report on him to Taipei. With his profound experience in the ways of the KMT, Jiang Nan was greatly alarmed, immediately cancelled all appoints and booked a flight out of Taiwan the next morning. He described his feelings: "Not until the plane took off did I feel relieved." Thereafter he never went to Taiwan again, and even refused to take any flight passing through Taipei. It was a typical situation "when the government forces the people to revolt, the people have no choice but to do so."

When assessing people, Jiang Nan often discussed "pattern," "talent" and "virtue." He was most interested in the course of history. He was unable to keep secrets and had none. According to him, "secrets are only facts revealed a little later." It embodied somewhat the idea that "if you do not want something to do known, the only way is not to do it."

His wife's cooking skill was well known, but they did not go to Chinatown to open a restaurant, because "it is too difficult to manage in the Chinese community; there is too much bickering." That he chose the

business of mold-making ceramics and located it at the Fishermen's Wharf was for the tranquillity. A small article averaged \$10, and he only needed to sell a dozen or so a day to get by. In his spare time, he read and wrote and, if friends dropped in, chatted. Becoming enthusiastic in the conversation, he would impulsively telephone his wife to come and mind the store: "Something important. Come right away." And his "friends" were everywhere, but fortunately, his wife truly understood him.

When asked why he opened a store to do business, his reply would embarrass China's scholars of thousands of years: "Just take a look around: How many people today can live on writing? Possibly only Li Ao and Po Yang. For thousands of years, scholars had no character, could not stand up on their own, and relied on the charity of others. I opened a little store to make a living on my own. I write about whatever I know and in whichever way it should be written. When I ask no favor of people, I am not afraid of offending them...." It was Jiang Nan's strength of character.

I was a close friend of his for only 3 years, but even now I could not accept the fact that he is no longer here. All those who knew him fairly well feel the same. I recall his loud voice, his exuberant and carefree ways, his quick access to information, and his running in circles for his friends!

Reasons for Writing Chiang Ching-Kuo's Biography

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 12, Dec 84 pp 36-37

[Article by Jiang Nan [3068 0589]: "Why I Wrote the 'Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo'"]

[Text] The "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo" is Jiang Nan's best-known work. The importance of Chiang Ching-kuo is not second to that of his father, but very few people know about him. It seems that the veil of mystery over him has never been truly lifted.

### I. A Figure Wrapped in a Veil of Mystery

It is only natural for many people to be interested in a figure like Chiang Ching-kuo. He went to the Soviet Union at 15 years of age and was once a fervent Marxist-Leninist disciple. Made a hostage by Stalin, he was stranded in an alien country for 12 years and married a Russian woman. The "Xian Incident" gave him the opportunity to return home.

In the 5 years in Jiangxi, there was political turmoil everywhere. He not only joined the KMT, but was an extraordinary figure, the idol of the young, and a legendary personage, as if the hopes of the new China were lodged in him.

In 1949, the KMT totally collapsed. In panic, the father and son fled to Taiwan. The violent wind and thunder threatened the eggs in the upturned nest. Everyone believed that the eve of the 1950 typhoon would be the moment of the fall of the government. The Korean War suddenly erupted, and Truman ordered the neutralization of the Taiwan Strait, thereby changing the situation.

The meaning of the change and its far-reaching impact on history need no mention. Of the two central figures in the past 30 years, Chiang Kai-shek was of the early phase and Chiang Ching-kuo of the later. Regardless of personal likes and dislikes, to study the history of the period, we must face these two figures.

Chiang Ching-kuo continued the past to usher in the future and inherited the mantle of his father. His importance is not second to that of Chiang Kai-shek, but very few people know about him. The veil of mystery covering him seems to be forever indistinct and has never been truly lifted.

After becoming the chief of the Executive Yuan in 1972, the opportunities of his contact with the public became more numerous than any time before, and the frequency of his newspaper coverages increased more and more. Nevertheless, just what is the background of this pilot figure in the minds of the common people? Besides the surface appearance, do ordinary people know his other sides, such as his political thinking, conduct criterion, temperament, and merits and mistakes?

I studied history after coming to America. Recalling the old country, I was in a position to look at Taiwan through a telescope and a magnifying glass and, feeling excited, I thought that there was no other more worthwhile subject of study.

My thesis "on Chiang Ching-kuo of the Jiangxi Period" in 1968 got me started, and my adviser was Professor (Lin Michael). I was then enrolled in the American University's (International Research Institute).

### II. A Purely Nonpolitical Academic Pursuit

Making up the number, I worked for several years as a reporter in Taiwan. According to (Bai Xiude's) definition, "a reporter reports the course of an event," while a scholar "explains its cause." It involves two totally different approaches and requires different kinds of training.

Under my adviser's careful guidance, I began to explore the profundities. In 1970, I wrote "Shanghai's Economic Reform" as a sequel. I widely read about the services rendered by Chiang Ching-kuo, especially in the two important periods. Overreaching myself, I made further explorations and planned for the subject of my doctoral thesis.

Obviously, my effort was a purely nonpolitical academic pursuit. Like the way Hsu Chieh-yu wrote the "Biography of Zhou Enlai" and Chou Yu-jui the "Biography of Chiang Kai-shek," I wanted to systematically utilize the library and oral accounts of piecemeal historical data of all kinds, collate and organize, analyze and interpret them, and present to the readers a living figure in its true colors.

Such endeavors are commonplace outside China. Even biographies of movie stars are as numerous as the grains of sand in the Ganges, not to mention those of illustrious political figures. This condition, however, is not suitable in China on either side of the strait.

In terms of ideological restraint, China is still lingering in the age of Zhu Hongwu or the years of Kangxi. Taboos of all kinds, especially those involving the leaders, are off limit. Mao Zedong was of course a god, and so was Chiang Kai-shek. Aside from worshipping them, no question may be asked.

Continuing his father's cause, Chiang Ching-kuo has become a semi-god. Under the government's painstaking protection, Chiang Ching-kuo is only a hazy concept, a great man, to the common people. The Li-ming Bookstore published many books on him and there are indeed many authentic instances in these books, mirroring tha tttractive traits of his personality by means of trivialities. However, the method of handling is too clumsy. Concentrating on creating a positive image, the result is bound to be negative.

Sung Chu'u-yu studied political behavior in University of Georgia. He preferred to concentrate on political images, but avoided matters within the functions of the news bureau. An official biography of Chiang Ching-kuo remains missing to date. It appears that even his [Sung Ch'u-yu's] successor will not have the enthusiasm and courage. The fact that bureaucrats premise everything on protecting their power and positions deserve our understanding and sympathy.

### III. Chiang Ching-kuo's Entire Political Career

Objectively speaking, Chiang Ching-kuo, in the early period of his sojourn in the Soviet Union, did several things which cannot be condoned by Confucian moralists. His past and present standpoints are not all identical. But what was the damage to his character?

After arriving at Taiwan, he controlled the secret service. Many practices of the intelligence handling unit arouse people's contempt even today. Though he had a great responsibility, he could have been more humanitarian in the techniques and produced the same results. Nevertheless, the general situation at the time and Chiang Kai-shek's arrogance and tyranny were not without responsibility.

His early training and China's unique circumstances determined that, in exercising power, Chiang Ching-kuo could not transcend the mold of his predecessor. Thus, the Chiang-Wu (Kuo-chen) dispute, the Chiang-Sun (Li-jen) dispute and the conflict with Ch'en Ch'eng demonstrated time and again the supremacy of power and the unscrupulous state of mind.

The Chiang Ching-kuo in power who firmly promotes a democratic and constitutional government and the one who suppressed and killed the liberal elements in former years are two entirely different persons. In the past, he promoted the "personality cult" for his father. When he took office, he strictly forbade the shouting of "Long Live President Chiang!" Had Chiang Kai-shek been living, the "radical" comments during the election campaigns and today's limited freedom of speech, though possibly regarded by foreigners as insignificant or the tread of an ox, would have been unthinkable.

It was the basic reason for my determination to rewrite the biography of Chiang Ching-kuo. For one thing, I was not satisfied with the version (under the pseudonym of Ting I) of 1975. It was sloppily written and hastily published. This time, I made corrections and added supplements, and was fortunate enough to have it serialized by the California LUN-TAN PAO [TRIBUNE], thereby providing me the opportunity to receive again the scrutinies and criticisms of the readers and gain enlightenment. Furthermore, in the past 8 years, Chiang Ching-kuo progressed from the chief of the Executive Yuan to the presidency. A complete biography should include his entire political career, especially his manifestations after succeeding to the presidency. It was time for me to give an overall account and make a creaful analysis.

Eight years ago, I accepted the request made by Li I-tseng of CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI to write about "Chiang Ching-kuo in Taiwan," but, constrained by circumstances at the time, it was not done. The delay lasted 8 years. Though slow in getting started, the care and encouragement of my friends were an impetus for me to rewrite the biography.

#### IV. Much Historical Data Yet Unsurfaced

In view of the sensitivity of the subject matter, there are bound to be embroidered stories and malicious gossip. Those supporting Taiwan disregard the substance and act like the mainland "whatever faction." As far as they are concerned, except those appearing in CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO, all articles on Chiang Ching-kuo are bound to be unorthodox and rebellious. Thos of the unification faction hold another prejudice. Copying the model of T'ang Dynasty's "Spring Dream in Jinling," they make subjective conclusions. If the biography is not filled with invectives, it is at least freezing irony and burning satire.

I found myself in diverse circumstances, came into contact with people of diverse political views and encountered experiences which made one hesitate between laughing and crying. It seems that, when writing

about political figures, there is no creditable criterions of right and wrong or impartial academic norms. Absolute impartiality is impossible, because every individual stands at a different angle. The mountain is often "a range when viewed horizontally, and a cliff when viewed from the side." When it is difficult to decide whether a mountain is a range or a cliff, it is even more so when it comes to political figures.

I often compare writing biographies to engineers building houses. Brick and tile, sand and stone, cement and reinforced concrete are equivalent to firsthand data. Different engineers will build unique structures or mediocre mansions.

The handling of data is a technique, and their interpretation hinges on the writer's viewpoint, standpoint and degree of recognition. The pre-requisite should be rational study and assessment, free from sentimentalism. As for the quality of writing and the depth of content, they are to be evaluated by the reviewers according to their own subjective views.

During the time when the biography was serialized, the KUO-CHI JIH-PAO [INTERNATIONAL DAILY] of Los Angeles, in an article entitled "Repercussions of the Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo," criticized my book (1975 edition) for "scratching the surface," making overtones, and inadequacy in extolling and rebuking. What kind of state of mind is it? According to the writer of the article, when assessing people, there is only the simple bisectional formula, either total condemnation or total eulogy. There is no other way to run a newspaper or write a book. With such incompetent journalists, filled with stubborn ideas in their minds, it is not hard to determine the standard of the paper.

Professor Wu Ping-chung said: "This biography of yours has to be rewritten in the future!" These were words of insight. What he meant was that much historical data had not yet surfaced. Take the "Incident of the Mutiny of Sun Li-jen's Army," for example: The investigation report by the committee of five of the Supervisory Yuan remains locked in its safe. Committee member T'ao Pai-ch'uan, one of its writers, has no authority to gain access to it, and General Sun, the party concerned, refuses to utter a single word about it. A skillful woman cannot cook without rice. The barrenness of the chapter, an undeniable fact, needs no criticism from the readers.

Chiang Ching-kuo was the prime suspect for the "24 May incident," but as I could present no strong evidence to prove that he was the backstage instigator, I had to leave the question open and treat it as an outstanding issue.

### V. Conclusion

For a period of 6 months, with no support from any foundation or institution, I utilized my spare time from work and my rest periods to run to the library for material, sat down and wrote, revised and wrote again. Words fail to describe the difficult conditions, and factual errors are inevitable. I welcome criticisms from my readers, and hope to correct them in a future edition.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PLA'S DISCONTENT UNDER ECONOMIC REFORM VIEWED

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 87, Jan 85 pp 22-24

/Article by Ch'i Kuan /7871 6034/: "Armymen's Discontent in the Great Reform"/
/Text/ After People Get Rich, What About Armymen?

With the "wind of reform" blowing vigorously throughout the country, the Chinese communists' armed forces are put in an awkward position. To control the army the Chinese communists have always relied on political and ideological work, not material incentives. Now, the situation has changed and political and ideological work exists in name only. Every political instructor of a basic-level company says he has a headache, and many of them have asked to be transferred to other departments.

All along, the armymen's allowance has been very small. For 30 years prices have risen I don't know how many fold, but the allowance for the rank-and-file soldier has always been 6 dollars per man per month. There has now been an increase in some things "under all sorts of pretexts," and the rank-and-file soldier in the south has an allowance of more than 10 yuan. However, in comparison with the "10,000-yuan households" and "100,000-yuan households," this allowance pales into insignificance. A youth who joined the army South Sea area before his enlistment was the deputy foreman in a factory workshop. and his wages plus overtime pay and bonuses totaled more than 370 yuan (Renminbi, the same below). After joining the army, he was transferred to the Guangxi border defense units as a reconnaissance soldier. While executing a mission he unfortunately stepped on a mine laid by secret agents of the Vietnamese Army and his right foot was blown off. He also lost two fingers. Appraised as a special-class disabled armyman, he receives a monthly allowance from the state of more than 100 yean. Frankly speaking, if this were 10 years ago, this more than 100 yuan and various kinds of favorable treatment for "disabled armymen" would have let a wounded and disabled armymen pass the latter half of his life in comfort, and it would not have been too hard for him to find a partner in marriage, because marriage to a disabled armyman would give a rural girl the change to be transferred to work in the city. Now, none of this is feasible. First of all, this over 100 dollars is insufficient for his living expenses. Food in Xianxue City on the South Sea is twice as expensive as it was before he joined the army, and a pack of imported "Wanbaolu" cigarettes sells for 3.3 yuan a pack (he is a heavy smoker). The greater part

of this over 100 yuan is spent for food and two cigarettes. What about finding a partner in marraige? There are no rural girls willing to move to cities and towns to become wives of disabled armymen. Their income in the rural areas is higher than it would be in cities and towns. In the past people always envied "state grain," but today it is no longer popular. The peasants' eyes are fixed on color television sets, videocorders, motorcycles, cameras, cars....

This is the progress of the times, and also the sorrow of the times. The uneven development of society easily creates new contradictions. The life of a disabled armyman who lives in the "land of plenty" is harder than in the era of poverty, and is also harder than that of a disabled armyman in the north because the girls in the north are still willing to marry disabled armymen, but not in Guangdong.

"Are We Defending the 10,000-yuan Households?"

The new economic policy is advantageous for the development of local industry, commerce, and agriculture, but the armed forces don't get many benefits from it. On the contrary, the feeling of superiority that caused the armymen to feel pride in being an armyman is nearly lost. In the past they defended the motherland, "defended Chairman Mao," and "defended the dictatorship of the proletariat." What do they defend today? In a certain unit of the Guangzhou Units that is well known as a "complaining unit," its fighters dare to say publicly that "capitalism has been restored" and ask "are we defending the 10,000-yuan households?" On their days off the fighters in groups of two or three go for strolls in the marketplace. They see peasants clutching handfuls of banknotes to buy this and buy that, and in restaurants eat a meal worth one "Phoenix" (a bicycle priced at 240 yuan). Ashamed of their own shabbiness, the recalciltrant fighters said: "We bear arms and are prepared to risk our lives. You people are buy getting rich. Damn it!"

Of course, the units may also do business. The Beijing Units have sent people to Guangdong to buy and sell cars, and the logistics departments of all military districts and all field armies have gone outside to do business. According to one unconfirmed piece of news, a warship once made several trips from Hainan Island loaded with several hundreds of Japanese-made small cars to military ports on the mainland, after which this batch of cars, which had entered Hainan duty free, was sold at high prices, and the profit made on them was astonishing. After the affair was exposed, at least two cadres at the division political instructor level were suspended from their posts, investigated, and handed over to a military court for trial. It cannot be said with certainty whether anyone has been beheaded.

The Localities Do Not Welcome Retired High-level Armed Forces Cadres

On the other hand, after the PLA put into practice the plan of making the cadre ranks "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent," there began to appear a big "surplus" of high-level cadres. Formerly, a field army unit in the Central China area always made a fuss about not having enough people, and wanted the PLA General Political Department and General Staff Department to transfer people to it. Now the

situation has changed: 12 army-level cadres are "waiting to fill vacancies," more than 30 division-level cadres are at home raising rabbits, and the regimental level there are even more surpluses. Some high-level commanders in the armed forces have not reached the stage of mandatory retirement. They are hale and hearty, and can lead a company at one go to race up more than 10 hilltops. But now they also must "step aside," because they passed the age of 45 without being promoted one grade or passed the age of 50, when they must "unbuckle their armor and return to the fields."

Someone will ask: If they can't be army commanders or ordinary commander, won't it be better for them to return to the localities? They have adequate political capital and high rank. If they are transferred to production units and given personnel authority, managerial authority, and financial authority, will they worry about not having color television or money to spend?

Wrong. Times have changed. High-level cadres of the armed forces are no longer welcome in the localities. This is because the great majority of this batch of army commanders and division commanders are old fellows who took part in the Huai-Hai and Ping-Jin battles, and have a country bumpkin family background. They have many medals and bullet scars, but their level of cultural and scientific knowledge is very low. They are professionals in fighting wars but laymen in directing production and doing business. The localities formerly welcomed them, because they were able to play the role of a "mountain-suppressing treasure," with their work style of armymen, being vigorous and speedy in action and having an imposing style, so that staff and workers heeded what they said (the staff and workers were afraid of them).

Now, they won't do. The cadre ranks in the localities are also "becoming younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent." Importance is attached to bringing forward young and middle-aged cadres from 30 to 40 years old, once a cadre is past 50 he will not be promoted to be a section-level cadre. The units have pulled out the old codgers specially for the localities. They don't understand anything except that they want houses, authority, and petty things. They want public allowances to buy color television. Some adopt the haughty stance of "old revolutionaries," saying, "When we were beating Old Chiang, you blokes were still sucking the breast!" And some of the high-level cadres dare to strike people.

How can this do? Therefore, when places throughout the country hear that the units are transferring high-level cadres to civilian work, they are afraid. If they warn the cadres off they will do so; if they can't they will be frankly discourteous to them, or utilize them at a lower grade, or make them advisers.

Army Commanders, Division Commanders Utilized in Lower Grades in Shenzhen

Because the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone is famous and prosperous, many army commanders and division commanders want to be transferred to civilian work then and "reopen new fields" for themselves. However, Shenzhen has openly said that they are not welcome. If you must come, well then, you are lowered in grade. In the units an army commander is equal in grade to a provincial deputy governor. If they come to Shenzhen they must not cry. How can they be about

the same grade as Mayor Liang Xiang /2733 3276/? All right, what about taking a post in a big factory? Ridiculous, reality does not allow this. In particular, some big enterprises funded by Hong Kong businessmen have announced that, without exception, they will not take in high-level cadres of the armed forces who have been transferred to civilian work. Ten years ago, the armed forces cadres who were transferred to civilian work in the localities were utilized in one higher grade; but today they are utilized in one lower grade; and this is stipulated in explicit terms. Need anything more be said?

I have seen an incident in which a recalcitrant division commander made an exhibition of himself in a locality. I must be pardoned for not revealing this armyman's given name and the place, because he has a big reputation, and once I revealed them everybody would know who he is. For the moment I will call him Division Commander Chen  $\sqrt{7115}$ . Division Commander Chen is an old revolutionary who was in the New Fourth Army in 1941. This year he became 55 years old, and at the beginning of the year was transferred to civilian work in a certain place in Guangdong. He originally planned to seek out an old subordinate who is a standing committee member of the provincial party committee and ask him to get him transferred to Shenzhen. Because Shenzhen opposed this idea, he had to be transferred to be a deputy secretary of a certain city's party committee. During the process of being transferred to civilian work in the locality he suffered a lot of supercilious treatment, and became determined to make a name for himself. He became chairman of the board on the Chinese side in a Chinese-foreign joint-capital enterprise. To change from division commander to chairman of the board--what would you say was the taste in his heart? Of course he felt happy, as it showed he had both martial and civil talents. But after being in his post for 3 months it was decided that he wouldn't do. Hong Kong (side B) said: If this chairman of the board is not changed, some shareholders will withdraw.

At first, Division Commander Chen applied his work patterns of the time when he was in the units to a modernized enterprise. The "Three Character Classic" was never off his lips, and the horizontal tablet "build socialist material and spiritual civilization" he posted in the factory became a clever satire. The workers are responsible for a task until it is completed, and it is not uncommon for them to come to work at 10 o'clock in the morning. He looked upon this practice with disfavor and gave them a dressing down. They answered back: "When we work more and when we work less is our business. Isn't it the same thing if we have other things to do in the morning and then work overtime in the evening?" He said that these people were defying the leadership, and obstinately wanted to cancel the production tasks for which they had contracted.

To prove that he did not mess things up by giving wrong orders, he regularly took off his western coat, rolled up the sleeves of his white shirt, and went to a workshop, where he got as sweaty and greasy as the workers. The result was that the workers disliked his getting in the way. They complained that he adversely affected the meeting of production quotas, saying that they would much rather have two apprentises than him. Division Commander Chen understood nothing and had to ask about everything. He was not open-minded, and forgot that the workers were doing contract work and were not in the 8-hour work system.

Also, the Hong Kong businessmen often took people with them to look around the factory. This was an opportunity to sign contracts, but Division Commander Chen considered it an opportunity to dine out. As a rule, the Hong Kong businessmen would invited guests to a restaurant. Since Division Commander Chen was the chairman of the board he, of course, sat at the head of the table and dined with these gentlemen and ladies. He didn't show any restraint or conceal his character as a rough and ready fellow. Downing two cups of "Majieli" wine, he took off his western coat, tore off his tie, and began to "lift the ban" on the "Three Character Classic." He spoke in the Mandarin dialect, and it was very hard for the others to converse with him directly. Seeing his appearance, any interest in doing business was lost. Some ladies straightforwardly left the banquet halfway through it and went back to another room in the restarurant. The board of directors saw that he was too outrageous but did not dare offend him, so it sent a "little report" to the province, which had the city give him an "honorable retirement."

## Lament About Children of High-Level Cadres

Seriously speaking, another reason that the high-level cadres of the armed forces are not welcome in the localities is because their children and the localities do not get along. The fathers are troublesome, and the sons are equally hard to deal with. Some of them, relying on papa being an army commander or division commander, are used to riding roughshod over people in the places where their fathers' units were stationed. It is hard to change a natural disposition, so when they go to the localities, they act as the did before, getting in by the back door, "flogging the flower," making waves, and hating and oppressing others as if they were gods. The localities early on had experience of how terrible the children of high-level cadres could be, so why would they want to ask for trouble from them?

Not long ago, YANGCHENG WANBAO carried a piece of news captioned "Children of a High-level Cadres in Shenzhen," and the sons of these army comrades there were just like this. However, the time when they could ride roughshod over others has passed, and even attendants pay no attention to them. Of what use are army commanders? Today's workers and staff and today's laborers fear only not having skills themselves and do not fear any big official. Therefore, no matter whether it is in Shenzhen, Guan-zhou, or Zhuhai, there is no way for the children of high-level cadres to throw their weight around and no one will do favors for them. Do they want to buy goods cheap from a store by "going through the back door"? No way, even the immortal Laozi would have to pay the list price and in Hong Kong currency (or in Renminbi at a higher price). Since this is the case, the army commanders and division commanders and their children who accompany them when they are transferred to civilian work in the localities, have to sigh, "Beautiful flowers don't bloom long, and good situations don't last long."

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